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ISSUED IN FOND MEMORY OF

LATE PROFESSOR

KRISHN DATT BAJPAI

FORMER CHAIRMAN

OF THE EPIGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF INDIA

AND RETIRED

TAGORE PROFESSOR

OF INDIAN HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY,

UNIVERSITY OF SAUGOR,

SAUGOR, MADHYA PRADESH

EDITORIAL

Having arrived at Trichy from the cross-roads of Pune and thereby having completed one more year of our meaningful exitence, I feel jubilant in placing the nineteenth volume of this journal in the hands of our readers. Contrary to the one step backward kind of definition of the number nineteen in English and some other languages (i.e., nineteen is one plus eighteen), in the ever optimistic belief of our language and culture, ēkōnaviṁśati is always welcomed by putting a step forward and placing this numeral on par with twenty itself. In the opinion of Amarasimha, the attainment of this age or the status in the life of a person or a society is a mark of singular honour of being unique in the field. It is the age that marks the individuality of an object all against the mass of commonality in the field. Without being boastful in the least, we have to admit that our society, in the course of the last nineteen years, has singled out itself as the only society of the Epigraphists and we are proud of it.

In the forward march of society's progress, specially the academic side of it, I deem it a privilege to put on record here the elevation of our chairman, Dr.K.V. Ramesh from the post of Director (Epigraphy) to that of Joint Director General of the Archaeological survey of India. May be, and I am sure about it, that this is not a big honour considering the high stature of Dr. Ramesh as a scholar of international repute, but, having known the hierachy of the Archaelogical survey of In-

dia, I take it as a big step forward in his career with a promise that there are yet more steps to follow. On the academic side, Dr Ramesh and all other members of his team, who are also the members of our society namely- Prof. Noboru Karashima, Prof. K.V. Raman, Prof.Y. Subbarayalu and Dr. P. Shanmugam, deserve our hearty congratulations for furthering the cause of Epigraphy while conducting a three week long survey of inscriptions in the areas of Malaysia and Thailand. This programme, as we have stated in the last issue of our journal, was in continuance of the Indo-Japanese project to this effect, financed by the Department of Culture, Government of Japan and the University of Tokyo with Prof. N. Karashima as the team leader.

Whether we call it step by step or, as a mark of another step forward, in the month of August 1992, a team of scholars gathered in Tokyo, under the guidance of Prof. N. Karashima to work on 'A Statistical Study of Revenue terms in Vijayanagar Inscriptions', and the team was well represented besides others by our Vice-Chairman of the society Mr. Madhav N. Katti. While thanking the Japanese authorities for their kind hospitality extended to all such scholars, we have one more occasion of acclaim in Mr. Katti taking over as the Director (Epigraphy) at Mysore.

After all this hilarious news of the progress of our family of the society, we

had the sad news of the demise of Prof. K.D. Bajpai, our former Chairman of the Society for two terms (1980 to 1985). Prof. Bajpai was an Indologist in every sense of the word. Having started his career as Museologist from Mathura, Prof. Bajpai switched over to the University of Saugor (M.P.) and it is from here that he has shown himself as a world renowed Archaeologist, Epigraphist, Numismatist, Iconographist, Art-historian and over and above a real popular teacher, an *āchārya* of *bahuśruta* type who consider *paryaṭana* as a part of their vow. The simplicity of the nature of Prof. Bajpai and his ever considerate mood for his students used to reflect in the lines of Vālmiki he applied on the top of his letter-heads : 'snēhāch-cha bahumānāch-cha, smārayē tvāṁ na śikshayē'. On behalf of our society and on my own behalf I salute the great soul of this *achārya :- namaḥ ṛishibhyaḥ pūrvajēbhyaḥ*

I am sure my predecessors will bear with me when I say that the job of bringing out our society's journal and particularly the maintenance of its regularity and punctuality is really a hazardous one.

Till the time the journal is not ready, we keep our fingers crossed and pray for the prompt co-operation of all our well-wishers. On such occasions, the guidance and inspiration of the experienced elders is the first thing that counts most. I feel happy in acknowledging in this regard my sincere thanks to Dr. K.V. Ramesh even whose remote control could play wonders in these matters and to Prof, S.H. Ritti, Prof. A.M. Shastri and our Vice-Chairman and the Director (Epigraphy), Mr. Madhav N. Katti, for all the help I have so promptly received. Coming to the co-operation that was easily available on the spot, I express my thanks to my colleagues Dr. M.D. Sampath, Dr. S.S. Iyer, Dr. S. Swaminathan and Mr. P. Venkatesan. For bearing the burden of the correspondence wing, I am duly thankful to Mr. P. Natarajan of our office. But, over and above, the list of my obligations in this regard never comes to a close unless I record my thanks to Pandit V. I. Subramanyam and to our close friend Mr. S.K. Lakshminarayana of the ReadyPrint and an ever-ready team of his colleagues.

S.P. Tewari.

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Epigraphical Research at Cross Roads

Shrinivasa Ritti

I deem it a privilege to be the President of the XVIII Annual Congress of the Epigraphical Society of India that has nursed and nurtured me for the last 18 years and has helped me to build up my career, my personality and my contacts. I have enjoyed being the Secretary of the Society and its Chairman as well, for quite a few years; but to be the General President of the Annual Congress is not that enjoyable. It is a position of responsibility, which, I believe, is a little too much beyond my ability. May be, my long association with this Society has earned me this honour today, through my good friends on its Executive Committee. I am beholden to them all and the fellow members of the Society for conferring this honour on me.

Luckily for me, I have for guidance and protection of such galaxy of scholars who have earlier enhanced the prestige of this Chair, such as Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Dr. D.C. Sircar, Dr. T.V. Mahalingam, Shri K.V. Soundara Rajan, Dr. S.R. Rao, Dr. K.D. Bajpai, Dr. V.S. Pathak, Dr. G.S. Gai and a host of others who have delivered learned Addresses and given guidelines for the growth of the Society. These people have helped me in shaping my career as a student of Epigraphy. My revered teacher and mentor, Sri N. Lakshminarayana Rao was honoured with a *Tāmra-patra* on this floor. I should remember here with gratitude, another revered teacher of mine and renowned Epigraphist Dr. P.B. Desai, who would have appreciated most the work of the Society, had he lived to see its formation and growth. With the blessings and the benevolence of these great scholars, my task, I am sure, becomes very easy because I tread on the path shown by these *Pūrvasūrayaḥ.*

'*Athavā kṛita-vāgdvāre vaṁśe=smin*
pūrva-sūribhiḥ.
Maṇau vajra samutkīrṇē sūtrasy-ēv-āsti
mē gatiḥ'

Pune, the headquarters of ancient Puṇaka-vishaya in Karahāṭa-Chatussahasra or Karahāda-4000 has been a seat of learning from early times in our history. Learned men of Karhāḍ were known for their erudition in Vedic studies and were invited to far off places to go and

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settle there and conduct religious and educational activities. There are copious references in inscriptions to show that they were honoured with munificent grants for this purpose. Pune has kept up the tradition even today, with the well known academic and educational institutions like the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute and the Deccan College. It is hallowed by the memory of such stalwart scholars like Lokamanya Tilak, F. Kielhorn, R.G. Bhandarkar, Datto Vaman Potar, S.M. Katre, H.D. Sankalia, to mention only a few, who have earned international reputation for their erudition and scholarship.

The Bharata Itihasa Samshodana Mandal is one of the rare private institutions which has grown into a well known research institute due to the devoted services of scholars like the late Prof. G.H. Khare and the generous patronage of the enlightened public. It is to the credit of this Institute that it created awareness in epigraphical studies in this part of the country, by collection and publication of inscriptions through its journals, and particularly the series of volumes, *Sources of Medival History of the Deccan* which have brought to light quite a few important inscriptions. I feel honoured to preside over the conference hosted by this premier institution.

Normally, our epigraphical studies, since the beginning, have commenced from the epigraphs of 3rd century B.C. onwards. The Indus Script did not attract the attention of the professional epigraphists, for quite a long time. It remained the domain of a few archaeologists and linguists in the country and a few from outside. As such, not much progress was made in this study for quite a few decades after this writing was discovered. Perhaps, such pre-conceived notions as Ārya-Drāviḍa conflicts and that the writing represented the Dravidian only, were reasons for such a situation. Quite a few studies have been made later both by Indian and foreign scholars mostly based on such notions. A stage was almost reached when it was felt that it is impossible to decipher the script unless a bilingual inscription is discovered to solve the riddle. It is in the light of this, that Dr. S.R. Rao's work assumes importance since it strikes a new path and finds a new avenue of approach. Indeed, his is the only comprehensive study examining the maximum number of seals with consistent methodology and tangible results. I have expressed my considered opinion elsewhere that Dr. Rao's work is a breakthrough in the right direction. As all of us know, he reads Vedic and pre-Vedic Sanskrit in these seals and his significant finding is the evolution of Indus script from the pictographic to the alphabetic. This is appealing to me, like many others, since I hold the view, after considerable study, that the Indus and the Vedic people were identical and I have put forth my views in my paper presented in the Seminar on

the Aryan Problem recently organised by the Mythic Society, Bangalore.

To my knowledge, no other serious work has come on the subject, after the work of Dr. Rao viz., *The Decipherment of Indus Script.* Only the other day, he has brought out another work, *Dawn and Devolution of Indus Civilization,* in which he has reinforced his arguments, as I could see from a cursory glance of the book at Delhi.

In my opinion, it is necessary to have further dialogues and discussions on this subject, so much so, a consensus may be arrived at on academic grounds. Our Society provided a forum for this purpose in its very first Session held at Dharwad in 1975. Discussions were also held in one or two subsequent annual sessions of the Society. But I hold that a separate Seminar on this single topic should be organised so as to examine the problem from all the angles. To arrive at a concensus, I know, is extremely difficult on the subject, because too many divergent views have been held by scholars. But an attempt has got to be made. The Epigraphical Society of India, I suggest, should provide a forum for this purpose.

I was told that a Seminar was held on this subject sometime back at Tanjore. But I am not in a position to comment upon that, since I have had no access to the proceedings of that Seminar. However, I would like to draw your attention to a paper presented there by Dr. K.V. Ramesh, Director of Epigraphy and the Chairman of this Society. This paper was made available to me by this good friend of mine. Like Dr. Rao, Ramesh also reads Vedic names and words on the Indus symbols, for, according to him 'viewed from all the known points of our subcontinent's historical sequence, Vedic and proto-Vedic Sanskrit appears to have been the *prima lingua* in the area and the period of the Indus civilization'. But there is a fundamental difference between the approaches of the two scholars. While Dr. Rao sees alphabetical writing on the Indus seals, Dr. Ramesh ascribes word values to the symbols such as - *ekapād, dvipād, tripād, Bharadvāja, daṇḍahastaḥ* and so on. At the very outset, one wonders, if such word-values can be ascribed consistently to all or most of the Indus symbols to get a cogent meaning. Yet, it is a new attempt and different approach. I hope Dr. Ramesh will pursue the study vigorously and provide a key to the understanding of the Indus civilization. All approaches in this direction, however divergent they may be, are welcome. For, after all, *vādē vādē jāyatē tattvabōdhaḥ.* It is my hope that the Indus script stands deciphered at least after nearly a century of its discovery.

Just as our epigraphical studies normally begin with 3rd century B.C., they end up with about 16th-17th centuries A.D. The obvious reason for this situation is that, from about this period there is

an overall decline in the epigraphical material. The number of epigraphs comes down; there is a decline in the quality of engraving and even of the language used in them. Further, the alphabet reaches almost the modern form, not requiring a specialist or an expert epigraphist for its decipherment. Nevertheless, there are scripts prevalent in the later periods, which call for specialised training and expertise in reading them. What is uppermost in my mind in this context, is the *Mōḍi* script in which numerous documents have been written which contain in them rich material for the study of the history of the later medieval period. Indeed, *Mōḍi* is an offshoot of the *Nāgarī* script. But it has assumed such a shape through its practitioners that it has become almost a different alphabet altogether, like *Vaṭṭeḷuttu* in relation to *Tamil*. The material in the documents written in this script is very vast but, as in the field of regular epigraphy, here also there is a dearth of scholars who can read and interpret the documents in this script. My friends tell me the number of persons who read this script is very thin even in Pune, which is the repository of such documents. Steps should be taken to train batches of students in the art of decipherment of *Mōḍi* documents and editing them, which will be highly useful for the study of the history of the upper Deccan, covering the present day Maharashtra and the upper half of the Karnataka States, particularly. In this context, I was happy to learn that,

the Bharata Itihasa Samshodhana Mandal is conducting a course to train students in reading *Mōḍi* script. This activity should be extended to the Universities in Maharashtra, because we all know that the knowledge of Marāṭhī language is most essential for the study of these documents. I suggest that a course in the form of one or two papers be included in the Post-graduate Courses in Marāṭhī and History and a Diploma course in this subject be conducted in either of the Departments.

Normally, the deliberations of the annual Conferences of our Society cover discussions on stone and copper plate inscriptions only. But in my opinion documents on other materials such as palm-leaves and paper or cloth should also be discussed here.

I appeal to the younger scholars assembled here from this part of the country, to take seriously to this study to salvage the rich historical material which otherwise would lie hidden in the *rumāls* or bundles in different institutions.

We have another script of the later period in Karnataka which is known as *Tigaḷāri* in which quite a few inscriptions of 14th-15th centuries are written. There are large number of palm-leaf manuscripts also written in this script. Generally it is believed that it is an admixture of *Tigula* i.e., *Tamil* and *Malayalam* scripts. It is also suggested that it is a mixture of Tamil

and Sanskrit (Tiguḷa + Ārya). It is interesting to note that a large number of Kannada works on palm-leaves have been found written in this script. The inscriptions in this script are found mostly in North and South Kanara and Shimoga districts. A few people of older generation are found here and there who have familiarised themselves in the reading of the script. It is desirable that a scientific study of the evolution and development of this script be made and groups of younger people be trained in the art of decipherment so that many unknown literary *kāvyas* and other works come to light.

Similar is the situation regarding the study of inscriptions and other documents in Persian and Arabic languages. Large number of inscriptions and documents are found throughout the country in these languages. But there is an acute paucity of scholars who can handle this original source material. As such, there is a lacunae in the study and research of the history of the later periods. To give an example in relation to the history of Karnataka, with which I am more familiar. Several works on the history of Karnataka have been published and several students take up topics for their Ph.D. studies, and most of them pertain to the period upto about the 16th century. But the same cannot be said about the study of subsequent periods like the period of the Bahamanis and the successors, the Pesh-

was and the like. This is because of the dearth of material readily available for researchers and dearth of expert scholars who can handle the original source material in different scripts and who can make it available through translations. The Arabic and Persian branch of Epigraphy is doing its best in this direction. The Bharata Itihasa Samshodhana Mandal has taken up a step in the right direction by starting a training course in the study of Persian language. It is my earnest desire that the horizon of epigraphical studies be expanded so as to include the study of different scripts prevalent in the later medieval period so as to enrich our knowledge of history and culture of the period.

The *Brāhmī* script, of course, has attracted the attention of several scholars from very early days of epigraphical research and several theories have been propounded regarding this most popular script of India. Though there is no need to recount all these theories here, it is worth while noting some recent developments. Apart from the theories of foreign and indigenous origins of this script, a theory was put forth by Prof. S.R. Goyal some time back that this script was invented during the period of Aśōka himself or slightly earlier. There is no need to discuss this theory here since it has already been examined by scholars. It has certain inherent defects in itself. While examining this question, Sri K.V. Soundara Ra-

jan has raised in his Presidental Address at the 9th Congress of the Society, certain issues regarding the traditions indicating the existence of writing, much before the date of *Brāhmī* as known to us today. He poses the question if the episodes of Hanumān taking to Sītā the ring with Rāma's name on it, or of Rukmiṇī sending a letter to Kṛishṇa through a messenger, are to be dismissed as myths. It is to be conceded that no written material has been discovered in between the period of Indus script and that of *Brāhmī*. But the continuous traditional accounts referring to writing cannot be dismissed as myth. Prof. V.S. Pathak, the President of the Jabalpur Congress of the Society, has shown that the writing has come down in our country right from the Ṛigvedic times. All these cannot be dismissed as legendary on the dubious testimony of Megasthenes. However, the question as to what were the stages of writing in between, is to be answered by possible future discoveries. In this context, the discovery of Dr. S.R. Rao, of a potsherd from under the sea at Dwaraka containing the engraving of seven letters assumes some importance. Though, not much can be said about the reading and interpretation at this stage, as pointed out by Dr. Pathak and Sri Soundara Rajan it is a landmark in the different stages of writing in our country. Future discoveries may corroborate this view.

Another point regarding the Brāhmī script may be noted here. Of late, Dr. K.V. Ramesh has put forth a view that pre-Aśōkan Brāhmī originated in the extreme South and travelled northwards through Andhra Pradesh - the script employed by the Jaina ascetics in writing their records in Tamilnadu. Analogously, he also holds that the Bhaṭṭiprōlu casket inscriptions also belong to the pre-Aśōkan period. His main arguments are based on the fact that 'the consonants in the early Tamil inscriptions do not have the inherent *a* vowel value and the conjunct letter forms are totally absent'. Apart from these peculiarities, the close similarity of the letters of these inscriptions with those of the Aśōkan Brāhmī make it difficult to accept the contention readily. Shri I. Mahadevan, another scholar who has made a thorough study of Tamil cave inscriptions, holds the view that the Tamil Brāhmī script is but a regional and linguistic variant of the Mauryan Brāhmī script. He further comments that Tamil Brāhmī script is an adaptation of the Mauryan Brāhmī script, to suit the needs of Tamil phonetic system. It is not necessary at this stage to pronounce a judgement on this view. At any rate, this new line of investigation is worthy of serious consideration by the scholars.

I have given this address the title '*Epigraphical Research at Cross Roads*', because I think that after over a century of epigraphical studies, epigraphy has stood on the threshold of expansion. For quite

some time, epigraphical research was confined to the epigrapphy branch of the Archaeological Survey of India, when excellent work was done, in a limited way, by the stalwarts of those days. For over a decade or more now, epigraphy has become more popular with scholars in Ancient Indian History and it is taught in a few Universities also. More and more research students are choosing for their Ph.D. studies, subjects based on epigraphy. Under these circumstances, it is but proper to think in what way epigraphical studies should be expanded. It has to expand in all directions, such as collection and preservation of inscriptions, training of younger scholars in the art of decipherment and editing inscriptions, publication of the volumes of inscriptions and providing better scope for utilising the material in all aspects of history.

As to the number of inscriptions in our country it is indeed anybody's guess. We might know the number of inscriptions already copied and published, but to estimate as to how many more remain to be collected is a very difficult job. In his book on *Indian Epigraphy,* Vol. I, Dr. K.V. Ramesh has given a rough estimate that 'nearly a hundred thousand inscriptions have so far been discovered throughout the length and breadth of our subcontinent and many more thousands are awaiting discovery'. I am not saying anything new if I state that collection and copying of inscriptions is most urgent for

the progress of epigraphical research. Several predecessors of mine in this Chair have expressed their concern over this and all scholars pursuing epigraphical research experience it. Copying new inscriptions is a desideratum because, on the one hand, they bring forth new material for study and on the other, will have saved important sources of our knowledge which would otherwise be lost altogether.

This copying work can be done speedily by conducting village to village survey. There is indeed a programme of this type in the Directorate of Epigraphy but the pace is very slow. This is natural also. It is impossible to speed up the work of such magnitude by a score of scholars in the Directorate who can at best spare about a month or two in a year for this work amidst their other responsibilities. Survey work has to go on continuously. It is therefore necessary that the Directorate sets up more number of offices with competent persons and enough financial resources for this purpose. I personally know that the Director of Epigraphy has been trying hard to this end, and he has achieved some success by opening regional offices at Jhansi and Madras. But this is too inadequate. There should be one office in every district for survey work alone, with a time-bound programme.

I may suggest here that this work can be speeded up by seeking collaboration with the Departments of Ancient Indian History in the Universities and private

but established research institutions like the Bharata Itihasa Samshodhana Mandal. Such Departments and Institutions may be assigned specific regions for survey work. Estampages collected by them may be obtained by the Director of Epigraphy for further processing. Of course, they should be given adequate financial assistance to accomplish this work effectively. Even individual scholars may be encouraged in this respect. I even advise my students to voluntarily take up this work of copying inscriptions near about their places and utilise them for their research work. Our *Inscriptions from Nanded District* and *Inscriptions from Sholapur District* are the results of this small experiment. Dr. (Mrs.) Shobhana Gokhale's *Inscriptions of Kanheri* is a welcome addition to such enterprise. It is but necessary, of course, that individual collectors should inform the Director of Epigraphy and hand over the estampages to him for better preservation and recording. In short, all efforts should be made in this connection. Our aim should be to copy maximum number of inscriptions in a minimum possible time.

One aspect of epigraphy which has not been given much attention is the preservation of original inscriptions. We all know that large number of stone slabs with writing on them, lie scattered in open fields or tank bunds and similar other open areas. They are the property of nobody, and nobody cares for them, while anybody does not mind misusing them for his own ends. Those on the tank bunds or near the wells are conveniently used for washing clothes and along with the clothes the writing itself is washed away. Such written slabs are normally well dressed and cut to shape. They naturally catch the eye of the people who lift them home to use them for bath-rooms or as door steps and to cover the culverts. Many times, inscriptions copied once are not available for recopying if need be, at a later time. Either they will have been displaced or destroyed. It is indeed difficult for any government to undertake this task of preserving each and every inscription strewn over the whole of the country, unless large number of staff is appointed and large sums of money are provided. Such a step may be indeed welcome. But I wonder how far it is feasible. This work can be accomplished by involving local people of particular places in the work of preserving the inscriptions by creating an awareness among the people about such antiquities. These days in every village there is atleast a school building and local people should be pursuaded to collect such stones lying in their villages and shift them to the school building or the Panchayat building and ensure their safety.

It is here that the Universities and the regional research Institutions can play a role. They can arrange lectures and video shows on such topics as the importance of our antiquities and their preser-

vation and thus create an awareness about them. They can also remove the superstitions and wrong beliefs prevalent among them which are indeed detrimental to such stones. I narrate here only one instance while there are many such. In one of my survey tours in Raichur district, I was told about 'a stone with some letters' in a field lying miles away from a village. After walking and walking, we did reach the spot but to my utter disappointment, the stone was only a very small piece of a big rock. The disappointment was even greater when I noticed that the letters found on them belonged to about the 3rd century A.D. On enquiry as to what happened to the other pieces, to my utter dismay, the owner of the field told me that some pandits had told him that the crops would not grow well in his field unless the rock containing the writing was removed, because it was a bad omen. The owner thereupon cut the rock into pieces and threw them away. One piece however was lying there through oversight. I do not know if the farmer got good crops later, but to me it was treasure lost. If an inscribed slab has a sculpture, it attracts different types of devotees, some desirous of having children, some others seeking redumption from an ailment and some more, hopeful of tracing the lost or the stolen cattle. Each one of them pour oil on it, so much so in course of time it becomes a clod of oil, neither the writing nor even the sculpture is seen.

Such superstitions can be dispelled by properly educating the public. Some Universities do have programmes of extension lectures under which they send well-informed scholars to the rural areas to give lectures to the rural public, on different topics of interest. Education about the monuments and antiquities including inscriptions should be a regular part of this programme. I appeal to such bodies to undertake such programmes regularly. Epigraphs are our national treasure. They deserve to be protected.

As regards the need for trained epigraphists almost all my predecessors in this Chair have expressed their apprehension about the dwindling number of epigraphists and urged the need for more properly trained persons in this work. No less an epigraphist than Dr. D.C. Sircar once expressed fear on this floor that soon there would be nobody to read and interpret an inscription correctly. Such a situation has not yet come luckily, but a fear to this effect does lirk in the minds of the senior scholars, looking to the present conditions. The most important criterion for becoming a good epigraphist viz., the knowledge of language particularly Sanskrit, is taking a back seat. It is believed in some quarters that training in epigraphy means to know how to identify ancient scripts. This is no epigraphy at all. Real epigraphical study lies in the correct reading and interpretation of an inscription which becomes possible only with a

sound knowledge of Sanskrit and regional languagges. I have no hesitation in saying that Sanskrit is the very foundation of epigraphical studies in our country. In the earlier days Sanskrit used to be a compulsory subject at high school level. By this arrangement every student would get a rudimentary knowledge of this language and if one wanted, it would be easy to develop it to suit his requirement. But now the situation has changed. Sanskrit studies are pushed to the background or are removed from syllabi at all levels. This has affected Indological studies, particularly epigraphical studies, seriously. I only reiterate the plea made by the Presidents of the earlier Sessions of this Society that urgent attention be given to this problem by devising ways and means of preparing trained personnel. I fully endorse their suggestion that the Directorate of Epigraphy be given the status of an Independent Department, and the formation of Epigraphical Survey of India would be a right step in this direction. Suggestions have also been made for setting up a School of Epigraphy at the Directorate. I only add that this training course should be a full fledged two year course covering palaeography, epigraphy and Sanskrit.

On the publication front there is a general feeling that the pace of publication of volumes of inscriptions is a little too slow. Indeed many suggestions have been made for speeding up the publications including the entrusting of printing

work to private agencies. But the problem is not just in printing. Adequate competent staff is needed for preparing the volumes and then supervise the printing. The need is to expand the Department by recruiting trained personnels and with adequate funds to launch a comprehensive programme of survey of villages, editing of inscriptions and printing of volumes.

Mention should be made here of the Inscription Programme of the Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi, which has launched a project of publishing volumes of inscriptions dynasty-wise so as to make available the texts of such inscriptions in one place. Volumes of inscriptions of the Pallavas, Gaṅgas, Pushyabhūtis and Maukharis have already been published. The project of volumes of Vijayanagara Inscriptions is nearing completion. This programme is indeed a boon to the scholars doing research on subjects based on inscriptions.

Another important private enterprises in the publication of inscriptions is the *Uṭṭaṅkita Samskṛita Vidyāraṇya Epigraphs Series* which is undertaken by the Uṭṭaṅkita Vidyāraṇya Trust, Mysore, under the benevolent guidance of His Holiness Paramāchārya of Kāñchi. The aim of this Trust is to publish volumes of all Sanskrit inscriptions available in and outside the country. Two volumes have now been brought out. The first volume contains inscriptions pertaining to Śrī Vidyāraṇya, the founder saint of Vijayanagara Empire.

The second one contains 218 inscriptions in Prakrit and Sanskrit belonging to the period from 257 B.C. to 320 A.D. Further volumes, I am told, are in different stages of preparation.

I have a suggestion to make in this connection. These days language Universities are coming up in different states like Tamil University, Telugu University and Kannada University. They should plan the publication of volumes of inscriptions in their jurisdiction prepared under the editorship of competent scholars. This, of course, will have to be done in coordination with the Directorate of Epigraphy, to avoid duplication. This will, on the one hand, lessen the burden of the Government and enhance the utility and prestige of these Universities.

Like the new volumes of inscriptions reprinting the old and out of print volumes is also a desideratum. Happily, significant progress has been achieved by the Directorate of Epigraphy in this direction. As many as 41 volumes of *Epigraphia Indica* and 26 volumes of *South Indian Inscriptions* and *Annual Reports on South Indian and Indian Epigraphy* upto 1983-84 are now available either in print or reprint, so much so, there is nothing that is out of print and nothing that is not available. Only thing is genuine users are needed.

In the recent times, private firms have also undertaken reprinting of old volumes. Thereby, important volumes like those of *Indian Antiquary, Indian Ephemeris, Indian Historical Quarterly* and the like have come to the market, but the difficulty is about the price. While this programme of reprinting old volumes is welcome, care should be taken to maintain the quality of production. And most important, to price the volume moderately so that desirous individuals can think of purchasing them.

Mention should be made here of another project of reprinting and that is the reprinting of the 12 volumes of *Epigraphia Carnatica*, edited by B.L. Rice and published by the then Government of Mysore as early as by 1904. This laudable programme was started by the Mysore University with my good friend Dr. B.R. Gopal, in charge of this scheme. The programme achieved remarkable progress by bringing out as many as eight revised and reprinted volumes in a short period of twelve years. Ninth volume has come out in 1991. Epigraphists and young research scholars to whom the old volumes were not available actually rejoiced at this event. But, unfortunately, the programme seems to have run into difficulties for sometime now. The work has almost come to a halt. As per the original plan, the old twelve volumes were to be expanded into twenty, with the edition of available new inscriptions and by updating the introduction to each volume. As things stand, five old volumes have been expanded into nine revised ones. Need-

less to say that continuance of this programme is most essential. I appeal to the authorities of the Mysore University and Government of Karnataka to revive the programme with competent scholars put in charge of it. They will earn the gratitute of the whole world of scholars and the students involved in these studies.

Fellow delegates, lots of things are there to say about the promotion of epigraphical research in our country. But I am conscious of the limitations of time and your patience, I end up by only appealing to the younger scholars to take to epigraphical studies zealously and seriously. Epigraphy is an inexhaustible store house of varied material which is educative and even entertaining. A time was when epigraphs were harnessed for the study of chronology and political history only. But more avenues are open these days. Socio-Economic history has already become a much talked of topic. But there are many more yet to be tapped. Study of literature, for that matter. Many unknown and anonymous poets have enriched our literary heritage by their *laghu* yet exquisite *kāvyas* on stone slabs and pillars which await to be studied. A twelth century Kannada poet claims that under the pretext of writing an inscription he has really composed a *kāvya* itself, in 'modern Kannada' - modern in his times - *Śāsanaman-usirva nevadiṁ śāsanagabbamaṁ peḷveṁ posagannaḍadiṁ.* A study of the inscription shows that his is not a tall claim. There are numerous instances of this type in our epigraphical treasure trove. There is vide scope for linguistic and lexicographic studies, studies in historical geography, study of place names and study of the development of the alphabet which was practised as an art in our country. Any number of topics can be thought of. Be equipped with the prerequisites like adequate knowledge of Sanskrit and the regional languages with which you are conversant and choose any topic of your liking. The results will be rewarding and exhilarating, for like *Nāṭya,* epigraphy also is *bhinna-ruchēr-janasya bahudhā-py-ēkaṁ samārādhanaṁ.*

The Epigraphical Society of India is 18 today. It has become an adult, a major. It is quite fit now to play the role of a link between the Government Department and Epigraphical community.

Vṛiddhirastu

ON THE VELPURU PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF MAHA SADA

Ajay Mitra Shastri

A short but very important inscription in six lines engraved on a stone pillar found lying at the village of Velpūru in the Sattenapalle Taluk of the Guntur district of Andhra Pradesh was first briefly noticed by P. Seshadri Sastri in an obscure publication[1] and edited critically by D.C. Sircar in the *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XXXII (1957-58), pp. 82-87. All the lines of the record are damaged at both the ends resulting in the loss of one or two important letters in each line making the proposed decipherment and interpretation highly conjectural. Assigned to the first half of the second century A.D. on palaeographical considerations[2], the inscription purports to record the construction of a shrine or pavilion *(maṇḍapa)* of the Lord Bhūtagrāhaka by a lady who is described as a lamp-bearer *(disidhārikā*, Skt. *dṛiśī-dhārikā)* of an illustrious *Mahārāja* whose name has been read *very doubtfully* as Mā[na]sada and who is styled *Aira* and *Hārītī-putra*.

D.C. Sircar, as a conscientous epigraphist, was naturally exttremely doubtful about the reading of the king's name as the last letter of the third line containing the first *akshara* of the name *(m)* did not clearly show the medial sign for *ā* while the second letter of the name at the be-ginning of the following line was highly damaged and not, easily decipherable. In fact, the letter was so very doubtful that while giving the reading of the text of the record he left it undeciphered,[3] though in the translation he gave it within square brackets.[4] Likewise, the first *akshara* of the name *(mā)* is given within square parentheses in the text,[5] while it is given without any such brackets in the English rendering that follows.[6] His grave doubt regarding the reading of the second *akshara* is also explicit from his following observations: "The name of the king .... cannot be determined with certainty as the letter following *(Mā)* at the begining of line 4 is damaged, although the following three *aksharas* read *sadasa*. Traces of the damaged letter in the facsimile published by Mr. Seshadri Sastri, however, appear to suggest the reading *na*. Now, it maybe supposed that the letters *dasa* go with the following expression and that *sa* preceding *dasa* represents the sixth case-ending added to the king's name in two syllables. The name of the king in that case may be Māna, if our view regarding the reading of the second letter is accepted. Since, however, *dasa* added to the following word scarcely gives sense, the suggestion does not seem to suit the context. The other possibility is that the king's

name was written in four syllables begining with *mā* and ending with *sada*. In that case, the name of the king may be taken, at least tentatively, to be Manasada."[7] In a footnote (no.5) at the same page (84) we encounter the following observation which also reflects Sircar's doubts about the reading of the first part *(Mana)* of the king's name: "It may be conjectured that the damaged letter is *tu*, so that the passage would read *sirimātu sadasa* (Sanskrit *Śrīmataḥ Śātasya*), 'of the illustrious Śāta' ... In the Prakrit epigraphs, however, the name of a king is generally preceded by the word *siri* in compound. Moreover the damaged letter at the beginning of line 4 does not look like *tu*."[8] It is, thus clear that Sircar's reading of the first part of the King's name as Māna, was purely conjectural. It must be remembered that when Sircar made these observations, practically nothing was known regarding the Sadas.[9] But recent years have witnessed the find of considerable data about the Sada rulers and we now know the names of numerous Sada kings. Let us review the conjectural reading of the King's name (Māna) in the Velpūru inscription in the light of the extant numismatic and epigraphic evidence.

Recent archaeological excavations at the antiquarian site of Vaḍḍamānu located some 10 kms. of the famous Buddhist centre Amarāvatī in the Guntur district of Andhra Pradesh by the Birla Ar-

chaeological and Cultural Research Institute, Hyderabad,[10] have yielded a good deal of numismatic material germane to the solution of this problem.[11] Here four periods were noticed, all belonging to the post-Maurya period. Period I, styled post-Maurya, which marks the beginnings of habitation at the site, did not yield any coin. Period II, divided into two parts, viz., II and IIa,[12] was characterised by the find of the coins of the Sadas in lower levels and of the Sātavāhanas in the upper layers (IIa). Periods III and IV gave the Ikshvāku and Vishṇukuṇḍin coins respectively. Thus the numismatic history of the site begins with Period II and the earliest coins are those of the Sada kings, though they show tendency to survive during the later periods. We can distinguish coins found in the layers of Period II also into two groups, viz., uninscribed and inscribed, both of lead, the former preceding the later. Both these coingages are allied typologically as they bear on the obverse a prominent lion standing facing right with tail raised up and curled before a tree, even though there are stylistic differences in the depiction of the lion as well as the tree. The reverse of the uninscribed coins is generally blank, though in rare cases there appear to be traces of some uncertain devices. These were followed by inscribed coins bearing the names of the kings bearing *sada*-ending names who include, roughly in a chronological order, Mahāsada, Sivamaka Sada and Asaka

Sada. The possibility of there being more than one rulers of these names cannot be ruled out altogether, though it is not safe to postulate the existence of several rulers of the same name merely on the basis of stylistic differences noticed on the coins as they might actually have been intended to have variety with the object of avoiding monotony.[13] Possibly the uninscribed coins preceded the inscribed Sada coins. They might or might not have belonged to the Sada kings. The first known Sada king Mahāsada appears to have initially followed the earlier uninscribed coins of the area[14] and begun with miniting unifaced coins of a heavy weight only giving his own name preceded by the regal title *(rājan)* and the honorific *siri*. His successors, whose relationship with him and each other cannot be accertained in the absense of necessary evidence at present, continued to issue coins with the same obverse (lion-tree) type but with a six-peaked hill topped by a crescent on a platform and with a river symbol at the bottom within a square frame.[15]

We know of at least three Sada kings from the evidence found at Vaddamānu.[16] The Guntur region was occupied by the later Sātavāhanas for the first time during the reign of Vāsishthīputra Puḷumāvi as can be inferred from the presence of a record of his reign at Amarāvatī.[17] Unfortunately, the epigraph does not give the date; but as he flourished about the middle of the second century AD, the Sātavāhana annexation of the region may be placed during this period. Now, Sivamaka Sada of the coins appears to be identical with the homonymous king known from a fragmentery record at the same site.[18] So we can conclude that Sivamaka Sada was the last Sada king and that it was from him that Vāsishthīputra Puḷumāvi took away the coastal Andhra region. He was preceded by at least two Sada kings, viz, Mahāsada and Asaka Sada. We may assign a period of about seventyfive years to the Sadas. And as the Sadas came to an end by about the mid-second century AD, the beginning of Mahāsada's reign can be dated to *c.* 75 AD.

Now, coming back to the Velpūru inscription. The king's name was read as Mānasada, as we have seen above, purely conjecturally. The last letter in line 3, the first letter of the name, is definitely *ma* without any trace of the medial *ā*. The first letter of line 4 cannot in any case be *na*. The vertical line is not in the middle of the horizontal line as it ought to have been if the letter *na* were intended but it is clearly at the left end of the horizontal line. From the right end of the horizontal line appears to spring a short vertical line, which though not quite clear, gives the clear impression that the letter was undoubtdly meant for *ha*, and the presence of a rightward slanting stroke from the top

of the left vertical stands for the medial *ā*, so that the word in question is actually Mahā and the king's name Mahāsada. It must, however, be added that it has been possible to read the name correctly only because coins with this name have become available from the Vaddamānu excavations.

So the king mentioned in the Velpūru inscription is actually Mahāsada who is the same as the homonymous king known from the Vaddamānu coins. Now, as we have seen, this Mahāsada ruled over the costal Andhra area during *c.* 75-100AD. As pointed out by D.C. Sircar, palaeographically this record can be dated 'about the first half of the second centruy A.D.' But palaeographical features can indicate only a rough period, and a few years this way or that are not improbable. Moreover, we do not know exactly the part of his reign, viz., early, middle or late, when it was engraved. It is quite possible that the inscription was actually put up towards the close of his reign.

It is pertinent in the present context to refer to another equally important record in four copies engraved on four different stone pillars found at the village of Guntupalli (West Godavari District, Andhra Pradesh) originally published by R. Subrahmanyam in 1968.[18] Its significance was correctly assessed by D.C. Sircar who pointed out that it mentioned king Sada who is styled *mahārāja*

and as the 'lord of Kaliṅga and Mahisaka' *(Kaliṅga-Mahisak-adhipati)* and as belonging to the Mahāmek(g)havāhana lineage. It is thus clear that Sada was a descendant of the Kaliṅga king Khāravela who also was a Mahāmeghavāhana and is, like him, styled *mahārāja* as contrasted to the common earlier regal style *rājan*. But Khāravela is styled only as the 'lord of Kaliṅga' in both his own Hathigumpha and his queen's Mañchapurī cave inscription. It is quite possible that in course of his southern expendition he might have occupied the Godāvarī region of Andhra Pradesh which was probably known as Mahisaka in those days. On palaeographic considerations Sircar dates this record slightly later than the above-mentioned Velpūru inscription.[19]

Sada of the Guntupalli inscriptions and Mahāsada of the Velpūru record were thus almost contemporaries. We feel that they were identical, with the prefix *mahat* being added to the name at the time of coronation. In the Velpūru inscription and his coin-legends he is mentioned by his full coronation-name *(abhishēka-nāman)* whereas in the Guntupalli records he is mentioned only as Sada. It should not pose any problem as we have several such instances during the later period in South Kosala where kings are often found mentioned by names prefixed with *mahat* as well as otherwise even in the same records.[20]

References :

1.   *Journal of Andhra History and Culture*, vol. I, No. 2 (July, 1943), p. 64.

2.   Forms of its letters generally resemble those of the records of the later Satavāhanas beginning with Vāsishthīputra Puḷumāvi found in the Kṛishṇā-Godāvarī region. See EI, XXXII, p. 83.

3.   *Ibid.*, p. 86, text-line 4.

4.   *Ibid.*, p. 87.

5.   *Ibid.*, p. 86. text-line 3.

6.   *Ibid.*, p.87.

7.   *Ibid.*, p. 84.

8.   *Ibid.*, p. 84. fn. 5.
      However, while writing about 11 years later he took this conjectural reading for granted ("Some Epigraphic and Manuscript Records: 1. An Alleged Inscription of Khāravela", *JAIH*, III, Parts 1-2 (1069-70), p.34).

9.   An inscription of one Sivamaka Sada from Amaravati (*ASSI*, I, p. 61, pl. LVI, No. 2: C. Sivaramamurti (*Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum*, p. 291) and coins of chiefs with *sada*-ending names (E.J. Rapson, *BMC, AWK*, London, 1908, pp. lxxv, lxxviii, 10-12, 28, pls. III, G.P. 2-3, V, G.P.5; M.Rama Raos "Two New Sātavāhana Coins" *JNSI*, XV (1953), pp. 74-75. pl. I. 19: What is read as *Sata* is actually Sada) were known, but they were erroneously sought to be attributed to the Sātavāhanas as *sada* was supposed to be just a variant of Sāta which again was taken to be an abbreviation of Sātakarṇi. It is, however, now clear that all these coins and inscriptions belonged to the Sada kings.

10.   These excavations were conducted during 1981-85.

11.   M. Kasturi Bai, "Sada: A New Dynasty discovered at Vaddamanu, Guntur District, in Coastal Andhra Pradesh", *JNSI*, XLVIII (1986), 12-23, Pl. I.4-13; "Coins from Vaddamanu Excavations", *Numismatics and Archeology*, eds. P.L. Gupta and A.K. Jha, Anjaneri, 1987, 102-13.

12.   Better these periods are redesignated and periods yielding Sātavāhana, Ikshvāku and Vishṇukuṇḍin coins are taken as Periods III, IV and V respectively.

13.   These variations need not be overstressed to yield a larger number of Sada kings as has been done by M. Kasturi Bai. In fact, it would have been surprising if the Sada kings would have confined themselves to the uniform manner of depicting the motifs throughout their reigns.

14.   It is quite possible that these coins also might have been issued by the Sada kings themselves and

perhaps by Mahāsada himself and it was later that he thought of giving his name on the coins.

15.   This is the general reverse type within which there are several variations. For a comparison, see photographs of coins figuring in the *Numismatics and Archaeology*, pp. 105-07.

16.   M. Kasturi Bai infers the presence of so many Sada kings merely basing on the differences of certain features on the coins, some of them unidentifiable. See *Ibid.*, p. 108, and *JNSI*, XLVIII, p. 23 for her list of Sada kings. However, as pointed out earlier, these differences donot necessarily indicate different issuers.

17.   See V.V. Mirashi, *The History and Inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas and the Western Kshatrapas*, Bombay, 1981, pp. 58-59. *Ibid.*, pp 66-67, where, however, it is attributed to Vāsishthīputra Sātakarṇi, *Sada* in keeping with the prevailing notion, being regarded as an abbreviated form of Sātakarṇi.

18.   R. Subrahmanyam, *The Guntupally Brāhmī Inscription of Kharavela*, Andhra Pradesh Government Epigraphical Series, No. 3, Hyderabad, 1968.

19.   D.C. Sircar, "Some Epigraphic and Manuscript Records: 1. An Alleged Inscription of Khāravela", *JAIH*, III, Parts 1-2 (1969-70), pp.

20.   See Ajay Mitra Shastri, *Early History of the Deccan: Problems and Perspectives*, Delhi, 1987, pp. 258-67; *Inscriptions of the Śarabha-purīyas, Pāṇḍuvaṁsins and Somavaṁsins*, I, Delhi, 1992, pp. 95ff.

MANAVIKRAMA ALIAS PUNTURAKKON OF ERANAD - A NEW NAME IN THE TWILIGHT OF THE CHERA KINGDOM IN KERALA

M.G.S. Narayanan

The Kollam - Rāmēśvaram inscription of Rāma Kulaśēkhara, 13th year, is engraved on a granite slab in the courtyard of the Rāmēśvaram Śiva temple at Kollam in Kerala.[1] It is dated in the year 278 of the Kollam era which corresponds to A.D. 1102 of the Christian era and thus yields A.D. 1090 as the year in which the ruler came to the throne.

When this record was first reported in the year 1920, the year of the ruler was wrongly deciphered as 16 (14+2) instead of 13(11+2) though it was written in letters and not in figures, and he was identified as a king of Vēṇāḍ or Travancore.[2] This identification was natural since the history of Cheramān Perumāḷs had not been reconstructed and the Panaṅkāvil palace at Kollam was known as the residence of the Governors of Vēṇāḍ since the time of the Māmpaḷḷi copper plates.[3] However, the Syrian Christian charter shows that the Chēra kings or their viceroys had the practice of holding the assembly at Kollam, the headquarters of Vēṇāḍ, at times.[4]

The text of the Kollam - Rāmēśvaram inscription was edited and published by K.V. Ramanatha Ayyar in the Travancore Archaeological Series. The presence of Nālu Taḷi, the representatives of the four temples in Koḍuṅgallūr, and the *Sāmantas* or feudatories, might have led the editor to infer that the ruler was not a king of Vēṇāḍ, but one of the Chēra Perumāḷs who ruled over the whole of Kerala.[5] In the absence of a connected story of the events in the background, like the Chōla-Pāṇḍya invasions which threatened the unity and independence of the Kerala kingdom, the historical importance of the document was not fully appreciated at the time when the record was published.

It was left to Prof. Eḷamkuḷam P.N. Kunhan Pillai to place Rāma Kulaśēkhara in proper historical perspective as the last of the Chēramāns celebrated in tradition and folklore.[6] He recognised that this was the latest epigraphic record of the Perumāḷs, so far discovered in Kerala. He was aware of the inscriptions of Vīra Kēraḷa of Vēṇāḍ, starting from 1126 A.D. which revealed the fact that the Chēra hegemony had come to a close.[7] He also cited an anonymous medieval śloka which referred to Rāma as the last of the Chēramāns who made a gift of the royal sword to the lord of Neḍiyirippu i.e. the

Zamorin of Kozhikode.[8] Prof. Eḷamkuḷam assumed that Rāma Kulaśēkhara's rule and the later Chēra kingdom ended in 1102 A.D. - an assumption which rested on the ground that no record of the king beyond the 13th year had been found anywhere.[9]

The present writer is inclined to ascribe the reference to Chēramānār Irāmar found in a highly damaged and fragmentary inscription from Tiruvalañchuḷi Śiva temple in Tañjāvūr to the same ruler[10] It is dated in the fourth year of Vikrama Chōḷa, which corresponds to 1122 A.D. and we might infer that the relevant passage contained the gift of money for the daily offering of a flower garland to Śiva "for the benefit of Chēramānār Irāmar" presumably by a well-wisher or close relative of the Chēra sovereign. The donor could have been the Kiḷān Aḍikaḷ - evidently a Chēra princess - mentioned in another line.[11] It would indirectly suggest that there was reason for anxiety about his well-being on account of some crisis in political or personal life. Whatever that be, the implied extension of his period of rule is important in several ways. It gives the king at least 33 years in the place of 13 years and thereby comes closer to the tradition, recorded in Kēraḷōlpatti, that the last Chēramān Perumāḷ had completed 3 Jupiter cycles, i.e. 36 years, when a foreign army attacked his territory.[12]. Again this provides important linkages in time with certain other developments to be discussed here.

The more significant factor from the epigraphical point of view is the new reading which the present writer has proposed in the case of the line which provides the composition of the royal assembly which met in the Panankāvil palace. The Government editor has deciphered the passage as follows:

"...nānku taḷiyumāyi (ram n)ṟunūṟuvarum (in)nāḍu vāḷkkaiyān vikkiramanāna .....kkan mutalāyuḷḷa chāmantaruntirrukaikkīḷkkūḍiyirukka ttirukkai nanaichecharuḷiyāvitu"

The new text prepared by the present writer in situ reads:

"nānku taḷiyumāyi (ram a)ṟunūṟuvarum (eṟa)-nāḍu vāḷkkai(Mana)vikkiramanāna (Punṟuṟakkō)n mutalāyuḷḷa chāmantaruntirukkaikkīḷ. kkūḍiyirukkattirukkai nanaichchahruḷiyāvitu"

In other words the present writer has eṟanāḍu in place of annāḍu, vāḷkkai Mānavikkiraman in place of vāḷkkaiyān vikkiraman and Punṟuṟakkōn in place of ....kkan in the passage given above. This gives us the name and title of a new ruler. i.e. "Mānavikrama alias Punṟuṟakkōn, Governor of Eṟanāḍ.". It has to be considered in the light of later history and traditions regarding the last Perumāḷ of Kerala.

According to Kēraḷōlpatti and the court chronicle of the Zamorins of Cali-

cut, the last Chēraman Perumāḷ partitioned the land of Kerala among his followere after a protracted struggle against Anaguṇḍi Kṛishṇa Rāyar who invaded the territory.[13] Several scholars have pointed out the anachronism involved in this reference.[14] The proper name of the invader may well be an interpolation by scribes, because there are some passages in which the enemy is called a Pāṇḍi Perumāḷ and referred to simply as Rāyar, a general term indicating a ruler or rāja.[15] Therefore the tradition is correct since the Kerala kingdom of Rāma Kulaśēkhara was invaded by the Pāṇḍi Perumāḷ and referred to simply as Rāyar, a general term indicating a ruler or rāja.[15] Therefore the tradition is correct since the Kerala kingdom of Rāma Kulaśēkhara was invaded by the Pāṇḍya king Jaṭāvarman Śrīvallabha who was a vassal of the Chōḷa king Kulōttuṅga. Though the Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya combined forces occupied Kanyākumāri and Thiruvanantapuram, and marched northwards to capture Kollam, they were driven back and Kollam was recaptured. The inscription under reference mentions a few arrangements made in the aftermath of that war in the course of which offence might have been given to the *Āryas or Brāhmaṇas*, by the king or his officials, for which the king had to offer penitence.[17]

The traditional chronicles narrate further how two brothers from Eṛanāḍ, Mānichan and Vikraman, who were desciples of Āzhvāñchēri Tamprākkaḷ, played a crucial role in winning the war.[18] They were rewarded with the gift of a small locality called Kozhikode just before the king secretly embraced Islam and embarked on a vessel for Mecca.[19] Later on he sent a messenger with letters of introduction, Malik Ibn Dinar, who was received kindly by the Rājas of Kerala and assisted in founding the first ten mosques along the coast of Kerala.[20]

Till recently it was not possible to varify these statements but the reading of the name of Mānavikrama alias Punturakkōn of Eṛanāḍ, who was first among sāmantas, goes to attest the veracity of the account in some measure. We already know that Māna Viyan was the Governor of Eṛanāḍ under the Chēra Perumāḷ named Bhāskara Ravi Varma.[21] The Zamorins of Calicut in the medieval period had Māna Vikrama as their hereditary title and were the descendants of the family from Neḍiyirippu in Eṛanāḍ. This is revealed from their title as 'Lords of Neḍiyiruppu', this being the ancentral village where they have their family shrine. Their title of 'Punturakkōn', which figures for the first time in the Kollam-Rāmēśvaram inscription under reference, finds mention in the Muchchhunti mosque inscription at Calicut of 13th century and several palm-leaf records of the middle ages.[22] Since there is a place called Pūntuṛa near Vizhinjam in South Travancore, where the Chēra-Pāṇya conflict raged, it is likely that the feudatory from Eṛanāḍ was given the title

of Punturakkōn in honour of the bravery exhibited in a battle at that site.[23]

The finding that Rāma Kulasēkhara's rule extended to 1122 A.D., or even beyond that year, helps us to check the statement regarding the Malik Ibn Dinar story about the foundation of the ten mosques in Kerala. William Logan had noticed a wooden plaque in the old mosque at Mādāyi, in North Malabar, which gave the year of its foundation as Hijra 518 corresponding to 1124 A.D.[24] This was not taken seriously by early historians who placed the disintegration of the Chēra kingdom followed by the rise of the Zamorins of Calicut and the advent of Islam in Kerala several centuries earlier than the beginning of the 12th century of the Christian era. Since the rule of the last Perumāḷ extended to 1122 A.D. and the foundation of Mādāyi mosque, one of the ten early mosques in Kerala, occurred in 1124 A.D., the sequence of events would provide greater credibility to the version of history found in local chronicles, especially when the same version is found in Hindu and Muslim sources.[25]

Further, the new time-frame brings out other instances of correspondence between the Kēraḷōlpatti tradition and epigraphic evidence. The chronicle gives the name of Kavisimha as the ruler of Tuḷunāḍ and Udaya Verma as the ruler of Kōlattunāḍ at the time of the last Perumāḷ's departure. The Āḷupa inscriptions actually refer to Kavisimha in the first quarter of the 12th century.[26] An undated inscription from Kaṇṇapuram in Kōlattunāḍ also yields the name of Udaya Varma and this will have to be placed in the first half of the 12th century on the basis of palaeographic and linguistic evidence.[27]

Another important term occurs in the passage from the Kollam - Rāmēśvaram record that we have just analysed. This has been deciphered but ignored by the editors and historians alike. The Perumāḷ had in his assembly not only the Nālu Taḷi which figures both in epigraphs and chronicles, but also another body called 'Āyiram' which has not figured anywhere else. The word literally means 'The Thousand'. While Ramanatha Ayyar left it out, Prof. Eḷamkuḷam dismissed it as a meaningless adjective before 'Aṟunūṟṟuvar' which stood for 'The Six Hundred', i.e., the Six Hundred of Vēṇāḍ in the present case.[28]

These Hundred groups are found in all Nāḍus, e.g., the Munnūṟṟuvar of Nanṟulaināḍ, the Aññūṟṟvar of Poṟaikiḻmalaināḍ and Vēṇāḍ, the Eḷunūṟṟuvar of Kuṟumporaināḍ etc.[29] These had been described as democratic assemblies of the people by previous writers including Prof. Eḷamkuḷam.[30] The present writer analysed all the contexts in which the hundred groups appear and found that a) they are hereditary forces attached to the Governors and b) also that they are entrusted the tast of *raksha* or protection, i.e. the

protection of property, agreements, rights and privileges.[31] Thus they are to be understood as the territorial army or police force, a small standing army attached to the princes.[32] The body was represented usually by its leader and each member of the hundred group was the leader of a unit of ten warriors. Thereore, 'The Six Hundred' actually contained a force of six thousand warriors in reality and 'The Thousand' must have been a regiment of ten thousand people.[33]

In this connection, it is logical to assume that the Perumāḷ at Makōtai had a standing army of ten thousand warriors known as 'Āyiram' or 'The Thousand' which function as the capital protection force. While searching for any clue regarding such a body, the present writer came upon a group called "Onnu Kuṛai Āyiram" i.e. 'The Thousand without The One' which supervised the affairs of the Bhagavatī temple in Koḍungallūr from the medieval period till recent times.[34] There is an explanation for the missing one of the Perumāḷ's army in the Kēraḷōlpatti chronicle.[35] According to this, the last Perumāḷ was misled by his queen and ordered the execution of Paḍamēl Nāyar, i.e. the Supreme Commander of the armed forces. He realised his mistake when it was too late. By this time, the Paḍamēl Nāyar had been drowned in the river on orders from the sovereign. In his last message he had exhorted the ten thousand 'akampaṭi' i.e. followers, to continue their work in his absence. As the post fell vacant and the Perumāḷ also disappeared, the headless body with its hereditary character must have continued to discharge their duties related to the Bhagavatī temple, the cantonment shrine at the entrance of the capital city established on the lines prescribed in Śilpaśāstra literature.[36] Even today Nāyars and low caste people in their thousands gather at this temple from all parts of Kerala for the annual Bharaṇī festival in the month of Mīna. In typical military fashion they march along with martial games and sing valgar songs to the temple of this war-goddess in the old Chēra capital.[37] These associations point to the 'Āyiram' in the record as the Perumāḷ's capital force.

There is an interesting epilogue to the story of this punishment in the traditional chronicle which offeres an explanation for the Perumāḷ's abdication of the throne and conversion to Islam after liberating his feudatories from bondage.[38] On realising his mistake in executing the innocent commander, he appealed to the Śastris to suggest an expiation ceremony to get rid of the great sin but they were unanimous in stating that there was no such prescription in the Vēdas and Śāstras and hence the only way out for him was to seek refuge in some other faith. The king was understandably forced to excommunicate himself and his successors for ever, disqualifying the family from the enjoy-

ment of the throne. A historian might see behind this move the Perumāḷ's conflict with the Brahmin oligarchy and the growing power of the feudatories in the wake of the prolonged war which made the Perumāḷ's position increasingly irrelevant in the changed circumstances.[39] At the same time a theological dispute of this type might have provided the excuse for the Perumāḷ's voluntary exit after the liquidation of his empire.

From the above survey it follows that the recovery of the name of Mānavikrama alias Punturakkōn of Eṟanāḍ, described as the foremost among feudatories, possessed great significance. The epigraphical data about the extension of the rule of the last Perumāḷ to 1122 A.D. makes it possible to place this name along with the names of Kavisimha of Tuḷunāḍ and Udaya Varma of Kōlattunāḍ and enables the historian to place in perspective the epigraphical data about the foundation of the Māḍāyi mosque. These facts, related to each other in time and space, present the traditions gathered in Kēraḷōlpatti in a fresh light, in a more convincing manner.[40]

To sum up, the name of the legendary ancestor of the Zamorins of Calicut occuring in the royal grant of Rāma Kulasēkhera in this particular historical context really illumines the obscure transactions of the twilight period in the history of the Chēra kingdom in Kerala.

References :

1. *Travancore Archaeological Services*, Vol. V. No. 13. pp. 40-6. The king is referred to as 'Rāma Tiruvaṭi Kōyiladhikārikaḷ alias 'Kulasēkhara Chakravartikaḷ'. Rāma was the personal name and Kulasēkhara was the coronation title. Another inscription of the 19th year is found in Perunna temple. *E.I.* XVIII., p. 340 ff. and *T.A.S.* No. 12., pp. 37-40.

2. *Annual Report of Archaeological Department*, Travanacore, for 1095 M.E. The mistake in reckoning the regnal year occured because the word '*partinōrāmāṇṭai*' was deciphered as '*patināṟāmāṇṭai*' i.e. the letter 'ō' was taken for 'ā' and 'ṟa' was taken for 'ṟa'. The correct reading was confirmed in the light of the position of Jupiter in Kanni lagna.

3. *Epigraphia Indica*, IX., pp. 234 and *T.A.S.* IV., No. 1., pp. 1-11. It is stated that Srīvallavan Kōta, Governor of Vēnāḍ, issued a grant in 149 M.E. (973 A.D.) from the Panankāvil palace.

4. *Indian Antiquary*, III, p. 315ff. and *T.A.S.* II No. 9(1) pp. 62-70. A certain Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ is mentioned even before the name of Ayyan Aṭikaḷ, Governor of Vēnāḍ, and it may be inferred that it was none other than Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ Vijayarāgadēva who succeeded Sthāṇu Ravi on the Chēra throne and who figured in the text after a few lines.

5. Note No. 1 above. See *T.A.S.* op. cit. pp. 42-4.

6. Eḷamkuḷam P.N. Kunhan Pillai, "Kulasēkhara Perumāḷ" in *Kēraḷa Charitrattile Iruḷaḍāñja Ēḍukaḷ*,

Second Edition, Thiruvanantapuram, 1957, pp. 125-8. See also *Kēraḷam Charitrapaścāttalattil*, pp. 143.

7.   *T.A.S. V.*, op.cit. p. 127.

8.   Eḷamkuḷam, *Ēḍukaḷ* op.cit. p. 128. The full śloka, discovered by Ulloor S. Parameswara Ayyar, may be reproduced her:

"Vārāḷum Kunnalakkōn varavatu, veḍi kēḷppāyitā hanta koṭṭur,
Mārārātikku nṛittattinu nivire miḷavinmeloṭṭenna pōle.
Ārum nēriṭṭu nillār ariya neḍu-virippōḍeḍō vāṇmelallo
Nīrēkī paṇṭoṭukkattakhila guṇanidhis Chēramān Rāma Varmā"

(Vijñāna Dīpika, Part IV)

This may be translated as follows:

"The great Kunnalakkōn's approach is announced by cannons and drums, like the dance of Māra's enemy (Śiva), by the sounding of Mizhāvu (a particular type of drum in the temple). No one can oppose the Lord of Neḍuvirippu, for the last Chēraman Rāmavarma, the abode, presented him the sword with libation of water at one time".

The words are cast in the form of a brāhmaṇa's counsel to the Rāja of Cochin.

9.   *Ēḍukaḷ*, op. cit. p. 125.

10.   *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, No. 221. pp. 114-5 L1. 15-6. The record is very much damaged and therefore incompleter:

"Chēramānār Irāmavarmaṛ tamakku nanṛāka(u)......kku nittam.... pakkalum tum(pai).......ttāmam".
The gap at the end may filled with 'tirupaḷḷi' so as to read "tumpaittiruppaḷḷittāmam" i.e. the sacred garland of tumpai.

12.   *Kērḷōlpatti*, ed. Gundhert, Mangalore, 1988, pp. 50-54.

13.   *Ibid*, pp. 77-84; K.V. Krishna Ayyar, *The Zamorins of Calicut*, 1938, pp. 68-9.

14.   William Logan, *Malabar*, I., pp. 221-45; K.P. Padmanabha Menon, *History of Kerala*, Vol. I., pp. 420-67.

15.   *Kēraḷōlpatti*, op. cit. pp. 55-8.

16.   *T.A.S.I.*, pp. 18ff.
See also K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, pp. 120-2; *The Cōlas*, p. 6, f.n. 60.
An era called 'Kollam aḷintayāṇṭu' was reckoned for a few years from 1097 A.D. to celebrate the occupation of Kollam, though it was short-lived. This is mentioned in *Kōyildugu*, the Pāṇḍyan chronicle Venkataramanayya, *J.O.R.* XII, p. 212.

17.   In later periods when kings were weaker and Brahmins were more powerful, the 'prāyaśchitta' ceremony or atonement was performed by several rulers of Kerala, See *T.A.S.* Vol. V, No. 13, pp. 42-3.

18.   *Keraḷōlpattī* op.cit. pp. 55-62.
      Calicut Granthāvari quoted in K.V. Krishna Ayyar, *The Zemorins of Calicut*, 1938, pp. 67-9.

19.   *Keraḷōlpatti*, op.cit. pp. 77-84. Calicut Granthāvari. op. cit. pp. 67-9.

20.   *Keraḷōlpatti*, op. cit. pp. 84-90.

21.   Jewish Copper plates of Bhāskara Ravi, 38th year, List of signatories attached. See M.G.S. Narayanan, *Cultural Symbiosis in Kerala*, 1972, pp. 30 and 80.

22.   *Ibid.*, p.95. It opens with the words 'Punturekkōnṛa nīṭṭu' meaning 'Order of Punturekkōn' and records the grant of land for expenses in the mosque.'

23.   There is another Puntuṛa in Salem District also. However, this Chōḷa-Chēṛa war took place in South Travancore. A group of Nāyars under the Zamorins of Calicut were known as Puntuṛa Nāyars, probably in view of their part in the battle.

24.   Māḍā Mosque Inscription. No. 446 of 1929. See William Logan, *Malabar* II. Appendix XXI. p. CCLXVIII.

25.   Sheich Zainuddin, *Tohfatul Mujahiddin*, (Malayalam translation by Velayudhan Panikkasseri), 1963, pp. 1-64.

26.   B.A. Salatore, *Ancient Karnataka* I., pp. 10-12.

27.   No. 476 of 1926. Kaṇṇapuram Inscription of Udayavarma alias Irāmakuḍa Mūvar, Unpublished. The present writer has examined the original record in the temple.

28.   See Note No. 1 and 6 above.

29.   Nanṛuḷaināḍ 300   -   *T.A.S.* Vol. II, No. 4(A & B); *T.A.S.*
                                         Vol. V, No. 9, 10, 57;
      Poṛaikiḷānāḍ 500   -   *I.A.* Vol. XX, pp. 285-90
      Eṛanāḍ 600   -   No. 282 of 1969
      Rāmavaḷanāḍ 600   -   *S.I.I.* Vol. V, No. 784
      Vaḷḷuvanāḍ 600   -   *R.V.R.I.B.*, Vol. IX, I. p. 44
      Kīḻmalainaḍ 600   -   *T.A.S.* Vol. II, No. 7(A) and 9
      Kuṛumpoṛaināḍ 700   -   *I.A.* Vol. XX, pp. 285-90

30.   Logan, *Malabar, II.* App. XII. No. 1.p.CCXI; K.P. Padmanabha Menon, *History of Kerala*, I. p. 252; Eḷamkulam, *Ēḍukaḷ* op.cit. pp. 41-2.

31.   See Note No. 29 above. The present writer analysed the records and came to the conclusion that 'kāval' or 'raksha' was the function of these bodies which were attached to the person of the prince. *Political and Social Conditions of Kerala, c. 800-1124 A.D.* Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Kerala, 1972 Chapter 9. Nūṛṛuvar Groups.

32.   *Ibid.* The Seven Hundred of Kuṛumpoṛaināḍ is described as 'mūtta kūṛil ḍunnūṛ' and 'mūtta kūṛinukkamaiñcha niḷaḷ'. This makes clear that they were servants of the prince.

33. Tirunelli copper plate of Bhāskara Ravi, 46th year *I.A.* Vol XX, pp. 285-90. Le. 26-7.
     "Poṟaikiānāṭṭu aññṟuvarkku ayyāyiravarkkum tiruttu cheluttikkoḷḷakkaḍaviyar".
     The Three Hundred is stated to consist of three thousand warriors.

34. T.K. Krishna Menon, "Dravidian Culture". *R.V.R.I.B.* III p. 51 and *Kerala Samskāram* p. 115.

35. *Kēraḷōlpatti*, op. cit. pp. 74-6.

36. The capital city of Makōṭai appears to have followed the 'Kārmuka' pattern of town-planning prescribed in *Mānasāra*, See A.V.T. Iyer, *Indian Architecture*, I. Chap. X. pp. 158-9. The shrines of non-Brahminical deities were usually placed near the entrance.

37. Some scholars have suggested that the vulgar songs were originally conceived as a means to drive away the nuns in a Buddhist monastery at this place. However, there is no evidence of Buddhism or Buddhist *vihāras* in Makōṭai. Moreover, the practice of placating Bhagavatī with such songs can be found in several places.

38. *Kēraḷōlpatti*, op.cit. pp. 74-6ff.

39. This argument has been elaborated by the tradition that Vīra Kēraḷa, the son of the last Perumāḷ, was the founder of the principality of Vēṇāḍ, reported by Mattier, *Land of Charity*, 1871, p. 14. This agrees with the epigraphic data. Records of Vīra Kēraḷa as an independent ruler of Vēṇāḍ have their starting point in 1126 A.D. See *T.A.S.* Vol. IV, I. No. 3, pp. 17-8. The emergence of Kozhikode, Vēṇāḍ etc. as independent principalities must have synchronised with the Perumāḷ's abdication of the throne.

DEFINING THE HISTORICAL VILLAGE AND THE EPIGRAPHICAL RECORD

Aloka Parasher

The maps of historiographical interpretation, more often than not, are still dotted with debates on the geopolitics of empires or the socio-economic transformations wrought by political elites and the urban metropolis. Both these spheres of historical writing are spotlighted because they define the monumental and thereby, by implication, are considered the initiators of change. Though today in the historiographical scenario of Indian history it is impossible to find interpretations of an early Indian society as static or, to confront the mere political history of major dynasties, efforts still need to be made to thrust studies on rural scenario into history's limelight and project the history of small localities emanating from the village as central to historical interpretations.

Our intellectual understanding of an everlasting Indian village community is the product of ideas embedded in the debates on the nature of the Indian 'village community' initiated in government reports during the nineteenth century. These reports Karashima writes, "In determining from whom they should collect land revenue, ... 'discovered' the existence of village communities"[1], and

he goes on to pertinently point out that ever since, "the term (village community) has come to stay in all intellectual enterprises" though "its connotation has varied according to the motivation of its users or to the stage of historical studies.,[2] As a result a substantial part of our intellectual assumptions of the village community in its existing interpretations have remained burdened by a certain type of historical image determined more by the 'idea' of the village than the 'empirical' fact on its past.

This review article suggests that we need to move away from these historical images. It is not easy to do so because often epigraphists and historians tend to use ancient sources to reinforce these relatively modern ideas. Some of the earliest accounts dealing with rural history imposed a certain vision of history on interpreting Indian material on the village as was the case with W.W. Hunter's *The Annals of Rural Bengal*, published in 1868.[3] In this context Hunter interestingly contrasts the nature of documentation available to him in India at the village level with what was available in Britain. About the village records he writes : "Each field, indeed, has its annals. The crops which

it has borne during the past century, the rent which it has paid, the occasions on which it has changed hands, the old standing disputes about its water-courses and landmarks, all these are treasured up with sufficient precision". However, he goes on to explain, "But the bygone joys and sorrows of the district in general, its memorable vicissitudes, its remarkable men, the decline of old forms of industry and the rise of new, — in a word, all the weightier matters of rural history, are forgotten."[4] What Hunter rejects as available with 'precision'[5] would surely make an important source for the writing of a broad based social and economic history today but clearly, this did not fit into the perception of what constituted history for him during the nineteenth century.

The subject matter of most of the early writings on the village was subsumed under such headings as 'land systems', 'property relations', and 'revenue assessments'. At the same time a considerable amount of confusion was generated on the political aspects of village control and organisation.[6] The oft-quoted stereotypical image that has been perpetuated in this regard is the one drawn from the Minute written by Sir Charles Metcalfe in 1830. It reads: "The Village Communities are little Republics, having nearly everything that they want within themselves, and almost independent of any foreign relations. They seem to last where

nothing else lasts. Dynasty after dynasty tumbles down; revolution succeeds to revolution; ...but the Village Communities remain the same".[7] Maine's[8] and Baden-Powell's studies which have had a great impact on the later writings, were primarily on land systems and related constituent parts of village organization prevailing at the time and were not in fact, systematic historical accounts of the same drawing upon the medieval and ancient records in any substantial way. Communal ownership of land and the notion of the economic and social independence or self-sufficiency of the Indian Village had been the two main pillars of understanding its negative nature as an unchanging one throughtout History which were forcefully argued in the writings of Maine and Marx.[9] It must however, be stated that Baden-Powell's study proved an incentive for the subsequent nationalist writings.[10] Also, Metcalfe's praise of the tenacity of the village communities was to become a point of departure for the nationalist historians to not only cull ancient data to prove that villages were self-governing democratic units but this also led them to ascribe the distant villages with a glorious, harmonious and ideal past that had been rudely shaken by British intervention.[11]

One glaring fact that emerges out of this review is the inadequate nature of research on village history till recent times.

Thus, it is startling to note that after the publication of Baden-Powell's work (which had only partially looked at the historical dimension), we have only one full-fledged monograph on the history of the 'village community' published by A.S. Altekar in 1927 called *History of Village Communities in Western India.*[12] After this, apart from an interesting detailed article on the 'Origin of Indian Village System' in *Indian Inheritance,*[13] published in 1956, the next full monograph on the history of villages emerges as the *Early Medieval Village in North-East India A.D. 600-1200* by Abhay Kant Choudhary in 1971.[14] In the absence of any serious research on the Indian village after Altekar, it seemed almost natural for historians to incorporate images of the self-sufficient and self-governing villages into text-books without questioning the apparently 'objective', 'authoritative' statements of the earlier Orientalist discourses.[15] Another major dimension that had emerged in the writings on history during the intervening period, and this was true of all historiographical genres – Nationalist, Liberal and Marxist – that though the view of the essentialization of rural India as a conglomeration of 'communities' from time immemorial had remained intact, simultaneously chapters on 'economic conditions', 'land revenue systems', and other such subjects of inquiry had vehemently argued on the changing concept of the

land ownership pattern in ancient and early medieval India.[16] It is true that one needs to emphasize on the difference in each of these schools of thought on their methodological and ideological parameters but, as far as the representation of rural history and peasant life is concerned, they all subsumed its centrality under, as B.D. Chattopadhyaya writes, such generalities as "'agrarian system', 'agrarian structure', 'ownership of land' 'agricultural production', 'agrarian relations' and so on."[17]

The Marxist writings on history focus on the larger issues of agrarian history, labelling the particular social formations and the specific questions of land ownership, peasant subjection and so on. The last thirty years or so have seen a successful questioning of the nineteenth century image of an unchanging self-sufficient village and its placement within the broader context of social and economic change.[18] In a recent study it has been suggested by Arjun Appadorai that "Indian villages (which provide the context of most caste studies) often resist historical analysis. *Because there is inadequate documentation, historical information on particular systems of caste (local or regional) is partial, scattered, and cryptic.* (emphasia added) This encourages a reification of "traditional" system, based on a synthesis of textual information, odd bits of pre-British records and scattered information from the early

British records. .... This encourages arbitrary definitions of the nature of contemporary change."[19] Though the notion of the ostensibly 'pure village community' of early India has how been questioned by historians, the above concerns expressed by an anthropoligist working within the tradition of using historical data, hits at the crux of the issue about the history of rural India, namely, the necessity of first recognizing the vestiges of the village and the prominent social groups that inhabited them in its pre-modern terms. These vestiges nest in the innumerable inscriptions available to us but which have hitherto been used to primarily define such aspects as land revenue administration and the like.

Historical studies of village society need to be set inside a narrative and interpretative framework that pays due attention to long term trends *before* British rule and to the village activity affecting those trends. It still remains to be argued for instance, as to how the character of village situations changed from time to time within specific geographical settings. Further, defining these stages according to the terms used to describe villages in inscriptions has not been fully explored. A study of these can be used to build upon methods to understand the hierarchies of rural settlements as has been described by Ghosh in his background to the study of the city in early India. Evidence for such an understanding of the terminology of rural settlements in the indigenous sources goes back to as early as the sixth century *B.C.*[20] For instance, it is clear that *grāma* is one of the most popular terms used to describe these settlements but other terms such as *pallī, vāṭaka, khēṭaka etc.*, would imply that certain villages went through different stages in their formation.[21] Internal changes as well as encroachments into tribal habitats having been a continuous historical process, *pallīs* could, over time change to *grāmas* to the one hand, and *grāmas* to *puras* (or towns) on the other.[22] This would explain legitimately the historical process of *grāma* as a kind of village settlement changing in historical time.

Choudhary discusses evicence of texts like the *Abhidhānarājendra* of Vijayarājendra Suriśvara which can be drawn upon to show that there was no one definition regarding the boundary of a *grāma*. This text suggests that it could be up to where the cows grazed or, up to where the grass or wood cutters could cover in a day, or else, finally, what was fenced or enclosed.[23] This textual flexibility inherently implies the emergence of new *grāmas* and the possibility of existing *grāmas* expanding in the rural space of both the *janapada* (i.e., habitable territory) and *araṇya* (i.e., forest). The question of the definition of rural and urban spaces with the help of inscriptions has been raised

in an article by Chattopandhyaya wherein he says "This has nothing to do with the mention of a place as a *grama* or a *nagara*;" rather, "It is the relevance of how much is described in the context of what is being recorded that will finally count in assessing the character of each settlement.[24] In other words, even though the terms used to describe settlements may indicate two opposite ends of a polarity, it is the context in which they are described in terms of their economic and social setting, that have to be taken account of.[25] A small footnote to this categorization would be to recognize explicitly that villages were not a string of hierarchical isolates but had linkages with other contiguous localities.[26]

In this context it is also important to focus more fully on the recent S.G. Deuskar Lectures on Indian History and Culture by B.D. Chattopadhyaya on how rural society in the different regions of India can be reconstructed on the basis of inscriptions.[27] In particular it explains how the terms used in the epigraphical records to define villages are not rigid and in fact, imply a continuing relationship with the contiguous areas of rural life in ancient India. The transformation of one type of rural settlement to another further implies that social configurations also change. Sometimes, dramatic political changes could also lead to the nature of a rural settlement's boundaries undergoing a change. Further, these three essays show that in any understanding of the 'village community' of the past, and more aptly, the attempts at writing rural history of the specific regions of India, we need, for the future, to recognize that one needs to shift from talking about 'an Indian village' to Indian villages. For seeking alternative ways of writing a rural history we need to address ourselves not to the image of one typical village in history but to the mutiple images of it at least, in terms of their location in dry, wet or forest zones.[28] That is, how differentially individual villages existed in the rural landscape. This has been attempted briefly in the above study because according to the author in the three case studies a "geographical profile different" in each case[29] had emerged that had enabled an understanding of the variability of the Indian rural landscape.

From the historical sources the distinction between a *brahmadēya* and non-*brahmadēya* village is well-known.[30] The important point in this connection, however, is that since such few studies on village history have been done it is somewhat erroneously believed that once a *brahmadeya* was made, it was for eternity. B.D. Chattopadhyaya draws our attention to the fact that this was not always so and that there could be reversion of a *brahmadēya* village back to a non-*brahmadēya*.[31] These changes normally re-

quired political authority and will but, necessarily meant that the social structure of the concerned villages and its economic underpinnings were also factors of consideration. The historical dimension of when these changes took place has yet to be systematically documented. The debate in the twentieth century is no longer on "Criticisms of Maine's egalitarian *ur*-community and of single-line evolution .... or that communities were 'left to modify themselves separately' " but rather, it seems now "necessary to ask how internal and external worlds (in the village) relate, in general, to encompass continuity as well as change".[32] Thus a rejection of the idea that the village structure in pre-modern conditions was largely unaffected by outside influences is crucial as, in not accepting this one tends to impose static images of village life which have become stereotypes through erroneous intellectual understandings of the same. We have briefly tried to illustrate some of the issues raised by us at the beginning of this paper. This can only be done at the micro level and only when several such studies have been made that we can draw firm conclusions. This is the only way we can arrive at a more fuller history of village society as a whole and at the same time emphasize on the diversity of villages in the past.

To conclude that there was some kind of typical formulae for social change in the village community must be untenable. In studies on more recent periods of rural history it has been suggested that village societies not only respond to external change differently but that some merely adapt to this change while other may be transformed due to it.[33] Though not much work has gone into understanding how village societies in the past reacted to change, it must be accepted that we now need to identify the multidimensional epigraphical data to bring out the variability of rural change in a complex society like India. But most of all, it is important to realize that the meaning of terms and definition of villages *(grāma)*, located as part of a series of settlements, in the pre-modern sources, was antithetically different from the moderen perceptions of it. The former are found in texts and inscriptions at multiple levels of descriptions and not in terms of one monolithic description. These too, it can be argued, were historical positions embedded in sources largely elaborated by the elites in society. Like most areas of research, knowledge about the Indian village is historical and therefore, its mapping and charting out becomes essential otherwise our knowledge of it would remain essentialized in its modern constructions that have simply cloaked it in terms of its underdeveloped nature, poverty, religiosity and the like.

References :

1.   N. Karashima. *South Indian History and Society Studies from Inscriptions A.D. 850-1800*, OUP, 1984, p, 40.

2.   *Ibid.*, p.40. See also Louis Dumont, 'The "Village Community" from Munro to Maine', in L. Dumont(ed), *Religion, Politics and History in India*, Paris, 1970, pp. 112-32; M.N. Srinivas, 'The Indian Village : Myth and Reality', in M.N. Srinivas, (ed.), *The Dominant Caste and Other Essays*, OUP, Delhi, 1987, pp. 20-59.

3.   Vol. I. pp. 3-4.

4.   *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

5.   This is also the kind of information that we can get from inscriptions which describe land-grants and in the process, dwell on aspects of land ownership, revenue, irrigation and other such features of rural life.

6.   This question has been ably discussed by M.N. Srinivas, Op. Cit., 1970, pp. 28-36 wherein it is argued to show that the relationship between the village and the State in pre-modern times was intricate and complex than had hitherto been recognized by the early writers on the so-called autonomy of the villages.

7.   Minute in *Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons*, 1832. Vol. iii, Appendix 84, p. 331. Metcalfe, it is well-known revived this characterization of villages first made by Thomas revived this characterization of villages first made by Thomas Munro in his celebrated *fifth Report from the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company*, 1812. For details see Dumont, Op. Cit., 1970, p. 70 ff.

8.   *Village Communities in the East and West*, London 1871. For a full critique of his writings see Dumont, Op. Cit., 1970.

9.   Karl Marx, *Capital*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971, III, pp. 333-34.

10.   *The Origin and Growth of Village Communities in India*, London 1899.

11.   For general views on the History of these glorious village communities, A.S. Altekar's work on *A History of Village Communities in Western India*, Poona, 1927 is most authoritative.

12.   Till recently the only work that takes a chronological look the development of the village settlements at a regional level cutting across periods. In the light of new sources, however, some of his fundamental assumptions need critical questioning.

13.   II, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1956.

14.   [Mainly a socio-economic study], Calcutta, 1971.

15. Most of these assumptions find their way into graduate level textbooks especially views such as the existence of village autonomy and self-government. See for instance, K.A.N. Sastri. *A History of South India*, (first published 1955), 4th edition, OUP, 1966, pp. 205-206; p. 308. T.V. Mahalingam in his interpretations of the 'village community' closely follows Metcalfe – See his 'Village Communities in South India, in S.P. Gupta and K.S. Ramachandran (eds.) *Readings in South Indian History*, Delhi, 1977, Chapter 14, particularly pp. 94-95. Burton Stein has provided a suitable critique of these writings in his 'The State and the Agrarian Order : A Historiographical Critique', in Stein (ed.), *Essay On South Indian History*, Delhi, 1975, pp. 64-91.

16. The writings of such nationalist historians as K.P. Jayswal *Hindu Polity*, 2 Vols., 1919-1924 and U.N. Ghoshal *Agrarian System in Ancient India*, Calcutta, argued to show that there had existed in ancient India private ownership of land. Simultaneously, other nationalists scholars continued to emphasize on the corporate nature of rural and urban activities as in R.C. Majumdar's *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1920.

17. *Aspects of Rural Settlements and Rural Society in Early Medieval India*, S.G. Deuskar Lecturers on Indian History and Culture, 1985, Calcutta, 1990, p. 2.

18. R.S. Sharma, (ed.). *Survey of Research in Economic and Social History of India*. ICSSR Publication, New Delhi, 1986, presents essays that give a wide historiographical review of the subject.

19. *Worship and Conflict under Colonical Rule*, A south Indian Case, Orient Longman reprint 1983, pp. 7-8. This problem makes him move away to take up the Hindu Temple, as opposed to caste, as a locus of study which can more easily relate to the economic and political domain on the one hand, and the religious and cultural on the other.

20. A. Ghosh, *The City in Early Historical India*, IIAS, Simla, 1973, Chapter 3. p. 32; pp. 35-37; pp. 38-39.

21. The term *palli* is generally understood as a pastoral or cow herd settlement, *vāṭaka* is said to be one with some kind of enclosure, *khēṭaka* is regarded as one surrounded by hills and rivers and so on. Details discussed in R.N. Mishra, 'Village Life and Settlements in the Light of Vakataka Inscriptions' in B.M. Pande B.D. Chattopadhyaya, *Archaeology and History*, Essays in memory of Shri A. Ghosh, vol. II, Delhi, pp. 643-644. All possible village settlements from the Vakataka inscriptions have been charted out and mapped by K.M. Shrimali, *Agrarian Structure in Northern Deccan and Central India. A Study of Vakataka Inscriptions*, Delhi. 1987.

22. B.D. Chattotpadhyaya, Op. Cit., 1990, pp. 2-3.

23. A.K. Choudhary, Op. Cit., 1971, pp. 70-71.

24. B.D. Chattopadhyaya, 'Urban Centres in Early Medieval India: An Overview', in S. Bhattacharya & Romila Thapar, *Situating Indian History*, OUP, 1986, p. 18.

25. With the help of inscriptions this alternative has been charted out by us to understand one particular period of how social structure can be defined along with taking into account the factor of man's accommodation to his physical conditions at a local level. This is particularly related to the land grants of villages that are referred to in inscriptions. See essays 3 and 4 in Aloka Parasher-Sen, *Social and Economic History of Early Deccan – Some Interpretations*, Manohar Books, New Delhi, (In Press).

26. The works of Y. Subbarayallu, Burton Stein, N. Karashima and R. Champakalakshmi have in different ways addressed themselves to this issue in defining the economic, political and ideological linkage of the temple-centered, *agrahāhara/brahmadēya* and non-*brahmadēya* settlements particularly in the context of Tamil country.

27. Op. Cit., 1990, exemplified on the basis of incriptions on rural settlements in Gupta and post-Gupta Bengal (pp. 18-67), villages in South-Eastern Marwar (pp. 68-89) and an early medieval village in South Karnataka (pp. 90-121).

28. *Ibid.*, p. 11. This is important according to Chattopadhyaya because how each region "differed in their access to the utilization of water resources" would be important to define the character of rural settlements and their social relations in each case.

29. Op. Cit., 1990, p. 12 — the three regions chosen to exemplify this point are Bengal, Western Rajasthan and South Karnataka.

30. A seminal article by Karashima contrasting these two types of villages is a case in point, Op, Cit., 1984, pp. 3-15.

31. Op. Cit., 1990 pp. 7-8.

32. Peter Robb, 'Introduction : The External Dimension in Rural South Asia', in Peter Robb (ed.). *Rural South Asia, Linkages, Change and Development*, Segment Book Distributors, New Delhi, 1986, pp. 7-8.

33. Concluded on the basis of analysis done by scholars of modern Indian history and summarized by Peter Robb, Op. Cit., 1986, pp. 1-20. See particularly pp. 4-8.

5.   A STATISTICAL STUDY OF REVENUE TERMS IN VIJAYANAGAR INSCRIPTIONS

N. Karashima, Y. Subbarayalu, P. Shanmugam, Madhav N. Katti and Cynthia Talbot

Four years ago Karashima, Subbarayalu and Shanmugam jointly published an analysis of the revenue terms appearing in the Tamil inscriptions of the Vijayanagar kingdom[1]. The purpose was two-fold; first, to study the revenue policy of the Vijayanagar kingdom in order to ascertain its state structure, and second, to know the socio-economic conditions of the time. The statistical analysis of the revenue terms clearly suggested a change in Vijayanagar's revenue policy at the beginning of the sixteenth century, which implied the restructuring of the state administration by the Tuḷuva kings. Concerning the second point, they clarified the development of industries and commerce in the area of North and South Arcot districts from the fourteenth century onwards[2], which seems to have attracted the Vijayanagar rulers to Tamilnadu from Karnataka. This study and also Karashima's study of the Vijayanagar *nayakas*[3] clarified the characteristics of the Vijayanagar administration in the Tamil country and its change in the beginning of the establishment of *nayaka* rule.

However, as the above studies were confined to the analysis of Tamil inscriptions, they could not present the whole picture of Vijayanagar state structure and society. Without similar studies for Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh, this is not possible, as the Vijayanagar state also comprised most of Karnataka and the southern part of Andhra Pradesh.[4] Hence, the present study. In this study, which Karashima organised with the financial aid granted by the Mitsubishi Foundation in Japan, we have conducted an analysis of revenue terms appearing in Kannaḍa and Telugu inscriptions. Our purpose is to get a consolidated picture for Vijayanagar rule by a comparative study of Kannaḍa and Telugu revenue terms with Tamil terms.

Katti joined the earlier team to study Kannḍa inscriptions, and Talbot for Telugu inscriptions. For Kannḍa inscriptions Dr. Raghava Varier of Calicut University, Shri C.S. Vasudevan of the Archaeological Survey of India and Shri Hiroshi Ishikawa, research student of the Karnatak University, also have helped us in the data collection. In the computer work, which is indispensable to the statistical analysis of the terms, Professor Jun Takashima of the Institute for the Study of Languages and

Cultures of Asia and Africa in Tokyo has helped us greatly.

This is our first interim report and we shall discuss here only the general trends seen in the chronological and regional distribution of the most frequently appearing revenue terms in Kannada and Telugu inscriptions in comparison with those in Tamil inscriptions.

Table 1 presents A) the number of inscriptions we have examined in each language,[5] B) the number of inscriptions yielding revenue terms among them, C) the number of different revenue terms obtained from them, D) the number of total occurrences of all the terms, and E) the number of terms which occur only once in all the inscriptions. The rather high proportion of revenue-term yielding inscriptions among the Telugu inscriptions (B/A=25%) compared to those of Tamil and Kannada inscriptions (both 19%) may be due to the different pattern of chronological distribution of the Telugu inscriptions. According to our periodisation of the Vijayanagar era given below, Telugu inscriptions are found to concentrate in Periods V and VI, namely, the sixteenth century. For Period I, namely the first half of the fourteenth century, we have very few inscriptions of the Vijayanagar kings. The inscriptions assigned to Period I are mostly of the Sambuvarāya chiefs in the case of Tamil and of the

Kakatiya dynasty in case of Telugu. In the case of Kannada inscriptions we have yet to include those of the Hoysala kings available for that period.

Periodisation of the Vijayanagar era

Period I	: 1301 - 1350 AD
Period II	: 1351 - 1400 AD
Period III	: 1401 - 1450 AD
Period IV	: 1451 - 1500 AD
Period V	: 1501 - 1550 AD
Period VI	: 1551 - 1600 AD
Period VII	: 1601 - 1650 AD

If we count the average frequency of revenue terms by dividing the number of total occurrences of terms by the number of revenue terms (D/C) in inscriptions in each of these languages, a difference is found between Tamil inscriptions on one hand and Kannada and Telugu inscriptions on the other. Tamil terms show the tendency of occurring more frequently (5.09) in inscriptions than Kannada and Telugu terms (3.22 and 2.98 respectively). This difference becomes clearer if we take the percentage of the single-occurrence terms among the total terms (E/C) in the inscriptions in each language. They are Tamil=49.4%, Kannada=75.0% and Telugu=64.2% respectively. It is not so easy to say, however, what the difference in these figures implies. The difference may derive from the somewhat different nature of Tamil inscriptions, which usually go into more details in recording mat-

ters such as land grants or tax remission than the inscriptions in other languages. In Telugu inscriptions the way of recording such matters is rather stereotype. Kannaḍa inscriptions come in the middle in that respect, but show more similarity to Telugu inscriptions. This difference might explain for many minor revenue items also being recorded in Tamil inscriptions.

However, the abundance of revenue terms which occur less frequently may indicate the arbitrariness of revenue administration. Karashima has clarified through his study of *nāyakas* and *nāṭṭavars* in Tamilnadu the arbitrariness of Vijayanagar revenue administration during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[6] Some regularity in administration was established only under the *nāyaka* rule in the sixteenth century. This can also be inferred from the chronological distribution of the least frequent, i.e., the single-occurence revenue terms in Tamil inscriptions. For the first half of the Vijayanagar period, namely, the fourteenth/fifteenth centuries, the total number of single-occurence terms is 225 and for the latter half, i.e., the sixteenth/ seventeeth centuries, the figure is 88 and they work out to 43% and 35% of the total number of all terms for the respective periods. Thus both the number of single-occurrence terms and their percentage in the total number of all terms during the fourteenth/fifteenth centuries exceed those during the sixteenth/seventeeth centuries. This phenomenon may be taken as reinforcing Karashima's argument that a shift in the Vijayanagar administration towards regularity occurred in the beginning of the sixteenth century.

We may have to say from the above, therefore, that the Vijayanagar revenue administration was better organised in Tamilnadu than in Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka. Judging from the high percentage of single-occurrence terms in Kannaḍa inscriptions, the irregularity or arbitrariness may be said to have existed to the maximum degree in Karnataka, the central part of the Vijayanagar state. This point certainly deserves further study.

For the purpose of analysing the regional distribution of the terms in Tamil inscriptions the previous study divided Tamilnadu into five regions based on the administrative divisions of the period called *uchāvaḍi* or *rājyam*. In this study also we retain the same divisions for Tamilnadu. However, in Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh the same principle cannot be applied, for the old administrative divisions are not clearly ascertainable owing to the scarcity of information in the extant inscriptions. Therefore, we have counted the terms according to the

present districts, but in this analysis we have divided Karnataka into four regions and Andhra Pradesh into three regions, by grouping the districts in consideration of the distribution patterns of the terms (Map). The regions in Karnataka are: the *North* comprising Bombay-Karnatak districts (North Kanara and Dharwar) and Bellary, Chitradurga, Shimoga and Chikkamagalur districts, the *West* comprising only South Kanara district, the *South* comprising Hassan, Mysore and Mandya districts, and the *East* comprising Tumkur, Bangalore and Kolar districts. The regions in Andhra Pradesh are: the *West* comprising Kurnool, Anantapur and Cuddapah districts, the *North-east* comprising Guntur and Prakasam districts, and *South-east* comprising Nellore and Chittoor districts.

Tables 2-4 present the chronological/regional distribution of A) inscriptions yielding revenue terms and B) occurrences of the revenue terms.[7]

In Karnataka both the inscriptions and the occurrence numbers in the North, South and East regions reach their highest in Period V, while the same pattern is not found in the West region. The decreasing tendency of both the figures is conspicuous there. Their sudden decrease in Period IV in the North is also remarkable and needs explanation. No revenue-term yielding inscriptions are found in Bellary and Chitradurga districts which form the central part of the state, during the latter half of the fifteenth century.[8] The other regions do not show such a decrease. Was there any particular political reason for such a sudden decrease in the nothern part of Karnataka during that period ? Although the number of Period V inscriptions of the North division exceeds that of the South, the number of occurrences is just the opposite and the same situation is seen in the following periods also. This may indicate the comparatively more vigorous activity in revenue collection and remission in the South during the latter half of the Vijayanagar rule.

In Andhra Pradesh concentrations of inscriptions are clearly seen in Periods V and VI, indicating that the Vijayanagar rule was firmly established there only at the time of Krishṇadēvarāya in the beginning of the sixteenth century.[9] Inscriptions pertaining to Period I appearing in the North-east and West divisions are mostly of the Kākatīya dynasty. Our district-wise counting of the inscriptions shows their concentration in Cuddapah district, which seems to derive from the thorough survey of inscriptions in that district.[10]

Tables 5-7 present the chronological and regional distribution of the more frequently occurring revenue terms in respect of each language area. In Tamil

inscriptions we have 34 terms whose frequency exeeds 20, whereas in Kannaḍa inscriptions there are 29 terms and in Telugu inscriptions 18 terms, the frequency of which exceeds 10[11]

First we shall examine the difference and similarity of these terms for the three areas without considering their chronological or regional distribution. To facilitate the comparison we have classified those terms into eight categories, namely 1) general, 2) presents, 3) commerce, 4) artisans, 5) local government, 6) forced labour, 7) cattle, and 8) miscellaneous.

The first category "general" includes the Tamil terms *āyam, irai, irēkai, kaḍamai, paḷa-vari* (old tax), *pudu-vari* (new tax), *pon-vari* (tax in gold), *vari* and *upādi,* all of which convey the meaning of just a tax, revenue or income. Similar Kannaḍa terms are *kuḷa, terige, suṅka, siddhāya, suvarṇādāya* (tax in gold), *bhattādāya* (tax in grain), and *kandāya,* and the Telugu ones are *pannu, rokham, rokha-dhānyālu, suṅka, sidhāyam, suvarṇādāya* (tax in gold), and *dhānyādāya* (tax in grain). All these Kannaḍa and Telugu terms also convey the general sense of just a tax, revenue or income. Taxes in grain and gold are distinctively indicated in Kannaḍa and Telugu inscriptions, and in Tamil inscriptions also they are distinguished, though tax in grain (nel-mudal) does not appear among the 34 frequent terms. In Tamil inscrip-

tions old and new taxes are specifically mentioned mostly in combination.

The second category "presents" includes the terms denoting the compulsory payment of money or some goods in the form of presents on certain occasions. The Tamil terms of this category are *kāṇikkai, arasu-pēṟu, kaṭṭāyam, mugampāvai.,* the Kannaḍa terms *kāṇike, bēḍike, birāḍa, kaddāya, uḍugore,* and the Telugu terms *kāṇika, kaḍāyam, kaṭnam* and *vartana.* Etymologically *Kāṇikkai* (Tamil), *kāṇike* (Kannaḍa) and *kāṇika* (Telugu) are the same, and *kaṭṭāyam* (Tamil), *kaddāya* (Kannaḍa) and *kaḍāyam* (Telugu) are likewise the same. Frequent appearance of these terms, denoting "presents", particularly *kāṇikkai,* shows the importance of this tax category in the Vijayanagar revenue administration.

The third category "commerce" includes the Tamil terms, *kāṇigai* (tax on bundle), the Kannaḍa term *hadike/hodike* (tax on merchandise) and *horavāṟu/voḷavāṟu* (toll tax ?). The absence of terms of this category in Telugu inscriptions may indicate the inactivity of commerce in southern Andhra Pradesh during the Vijayanagar period. However, the tax in gold included in the Telugu terms of the first category is related to commercial activities to a certain extent.

The fourth category "artisans"

includes the Tamil terms, *paṭṭaḍai-nūlāyam* (tax on the products of artisans), *pēr-kaḍamai* (tax on artisans) and *taṟi-kaḍamai* (tax on weaving), the Kannaḍa terms *kumbāra-deṟe* (tax on potters), *mādāṟike* (tax on coblers), *magga-deṟe* (tax on weaving) and *suṅka-kāruka* (tax on artisans), and the Telugu term *maṇgadla-pannu* (tax on barbers). Although *āyam* in Tamil and *suṅka* in *Kannaḍa* and Telugu may be related to activities of artisans, here also we find the underdeveloped condition of industries in southern Andhra Pradesh. The tax on weaving does not appear in Telugu inscriptions so frequently as in Tamil and Kannaḍa inscriptions.

The fifth category "local government" includes the Tamil terms *arisi-kāṇam*, *āsu-podumakkaḷ-pēr-kaḍamai* (watchmen's fee?), *nāṭṭu-viniyōgam* (expenses for *nāḍu*), *viniyōgam* and *talaiyārikkam* (watchmen's fee), the Kannaḍa terms *grāma-gadyāṇa* (coins for village), *koṭṭaṇa* and *taḷavārike* (watchmen's fee), and the Telugu terms *cheruva-mēra* (tank fee), *grāma-kaṭnam* (village fee) and *mēra*. The division of the government between local and central is often not clear, and some of the above terms, for example *arisi-kāṇam*, *grāma-gadyāṇa* and *grāma-kaṭnam*, can also be taken as a tax collected by the central government, *grāma* indicating a unit for collection.

The sixth category "forced labour" in-cludes the Tamil terms *veṭṭi-vari* and *āḷamañji*, the Kannaḍa term *biṭṭi* and Telugu term *veṭṭi-vēmulu*. *Veṭṭi* and *biṭṭi* are the same, both deriving from Sanskrit *vishṭi*. *Āḷ-amañji* also means forced labour, and the existence of this category of tax shows the prevalence of forced labour in all the areas.

The seventh category "cattle" in-cludes the Tamil terms *nal-erudu* (tax on oxen), *nal-kiḍā* (tax on sheep), *nal-pasu* (tax on cows), *sādam* (tax on cattle and *iḍaitturai* (tax on herders), and the Telugu term *pullari* (grazing fee). The absence of terms of this category in Kannaḍa inscriptions during the Vijayanagar period and the existence of a variety of them in Tamil inscriptions are contrastive. North and South Arcot districts in Tamilnadu, particularly the former, seem to have formed the centre of cattle rising.

The eighth category "miscellaneous" consists of a variety of terms such as those related to communities (Tamil *inavari* and Telugu *dommari-pannu*), houses (Tamil *vāsal-paṇam* and Kannaḍa *mane-vaṇa*), concessions (Tamil *jōḍi*, *sūla-vari* and Kannaḍa *jōḍi*), fines (Kannaḍa *aḷivu* and *anyāya*), and special occasions (Kannaḍa *maduveya-suṅka*).

We are able to say from the above that although the behaviour of Telugu revenue terms suggests some peculiar con-

ditions prevailing in Andhra Pradesh, the frequent terms show basically the same tendency in all the three areas indicating the existence of cohesive Vijayanagar administration all over, particularly during the sixteenth century. *Kāṇikkai (kāṇike, kāṇika)* meaning literally "presents" appears most frequently in all language inscriptions, together with several other terms denoting tax in general, thus showing the important position it occupied in Vijayanagar revenue policy.[12]

Next we shall examine the chronological and regional distribution of the frequent terms in each language-area. First, we find some peculiar patterns of chronological distribution. In Tamilnadu *arisi-kāṇam* and *inavari* stop appearing during the fifteenth century and in Karnataka *grāma-gadyāṇa, hadike/hodake* and *suṇka-kāruka* almost stop appearing during the first half of the fourteenth century. The last one appears only in the North region of Karnataka. In the case of Andhra Pradesh many terms are found only during the sixteenth century reflecting the limited period of Vijayanagar administration in the area.

As for the regional distribution in each language-area, *arasu-pēru, nāṭṭu-viniyōgam* and *sādam* show some peculiar pattern in Tamilnadu. In Karnataka *horavāṟu/voḷavāṟu, kumbāra-deṟe, magga-deṟe* and *mane-vana* appear mostly

in the South, showing, the development of industries and commerce in the southern districts. *Siddhāya* is found definitely more in the North and West. Although *suṅka* and *suvarṇādāyam* do not show such a sharp contrast between the North and the South, they are found more in the South and East. *Kāṇike* is distributed throughout all the regions. *Kuḷa* is also well represented except in the East. In Andhra Pradesh *cheruvu-mēra* is found only in the South-east and also only in Peirod VII. *Mēra* is found more in the eastern part of Andhra Pradesh. On the contrary *grāma-kaṭnam* appears only in the West.

The above examination of chronological and regional distributions of some frequent terms, together with the comparison of inscriptions and terms in the three language areas, reveals many things so far unnoticed and urges us to undertake further studies. First, it is suggested from the above that the Vijayanagar kingdom tended to depend on the Tamil country from the early stage of its rule, being attracted by the development of industries there. In Karnataka itself the early kings of the Saṅgama dynasty seem to have based their power in the Western region, judging from the larger number of their inscriptions in Shimoga and South Kanara districts. Starangely we find only a few inscriptions in Bellary and Chitradurga districts for the early period.

It is only during the period of the Tuḷuva kings that we have a good number of inscriptions in those two districts. In relation to the above points, the difference seen in the distribution pattern of frequent terms between the North and the South in Karnataka, and also the sudden decrease of inscriptions and occurrences of revenue terms in the North during Period IV, would suggest some significance requiring further studies.

At this stage, however, we have not yet analysed the levels of taxing authorities as was done for the Tamil revenue terms. Examination of each revenue term in its context in different inscriptions is also yet to be made to determine the meaning of revenue terms. Karashima's study of *nāyakas* in Tamil inscriptions should be extended to Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh also, since *nāyakas* were the mainstay of state administration during the later half of Vijayanagar rule. However, problems are also expected in our pursuing such studies for Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh. They will arise basically from the nature of Kannaḍa and Telugu inscriptions, which, as stated earlier, do not go so deep as Tamil inscriptions in recording in detail matters such as land grants or tax remissions. Particularly, the way of recording such matters in Telugu inscriptions is rather stereotype and does not reveal the position. However, if we make all the above-said studies, we shall get a better view of the state structure of the Vijayanagar kingdom*.

References :

1. N. Karashima, Y. Subbarayalu and P. Shanmugam, *Vijayanagar Rule in Tamil Country as Revealed Through a Statistical Study of Revenue Terms in Inscriptions*, Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo, 1988, and Part Two (Appendix III: Texts of Inscriptions Showing the Contexts of the Revenue Terms), 1989. Part One was reproduced in N. Karashima, *Towards a New Formation: South Indian Society Under Vijayanagar Rule*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1992.

2. The development of industries in the northern part of Tamilnadu during the Vijayanagar period has been studied by Shanmugam in his article, "Paṭṭaḍai and Industries in the Tamil Country Under the Vijayanagar Rule", *Journal of Asian and Africal Studies*, 37, Tokyo, 1987.

3. For Karashima's study of *nāyakas*, see his *Towards a New Formation*.

4. Vijayanagar rule was not extended to Kerala and the southern part of Tamilnadu.

5. About 90 percent of the available inscriptions for the Vijayanagar period have so far been examined.

6.   See Karashima, *Towards a New Formation*.

7.   The data of Tamil revenue terms collected and studied by Karashima, Subbarayalu and Shanmugam have not yet been fed into computers and it is rather difficult at this stage to make Table B for the Tamil terms.

8.   Though Kannaḍa inscriptions in Anantapur district in Andhra Pradesh do not contain any data yielding revenue terms, Telugu inscriptions include just one reference for this period.

9.   However, there is some epigraphical evidence indicating that in periods III and IV, the Vijayanagar rulers had under their sway some parts of Andhra Pradesh. *cf.* Madhav N. Katti, "Some important epigraphs of the Sangama dynasty" in G.S. Dikshit (ed.), *Early Vijayanagara Studies in its History and Culture* (pp. 145 ff.) Bangalore, 1988 and Katti's article "Vijayanagara Epigraphs discovered during recent years", in *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. LXXV, No. 4 (p. 345).

10.   The district-wise number of the inscriptions with revenue terms in Andhra Pradesh is as follows: Kurnool=39, Anantapur=45, Cuddapah=98, Guntur=32, Prakasam=40, Nellore=41 and Chittor=11. Though there is one inscription in East Godavari district and another in Mahbubnagar district, we have omitted them from our analysis considering the remoteness of the data. In Anantapur district also there are 24 Kannaḍa inscriptions with revenue terms, which are however counted for our purpose as inscriptions in the North region of Karnataka. In Chitoor district there are a large number of Tamil inscriptions which have already been examined in the previous study of Tamil revenue terms.

11.   We have limited the frequency of Tamil terms to 20 and above to reduce the number for the sake of comparison with those in Kannaḍa and Telugu, since if we include the terms whose frequency exceeds 10, the number of Tamil terms amounts to sixty. In preparing these tables, minor spelling variations, which are numerous, have been ignored. In a few cases some closely related terms have been clubbed together. In Table 5, for example, under *birāḍa* the term *biḍāra* is also included and *magga-dere* includes the term *magga*.

12.   The term *kāṇikkai* is also used as a suffix to some other terms which denote the purpose of its collection, like *adikāri-kāṇikkai* to be paid to *adikāri*. In Tamil inscriptions there are 29 such cases of *kāṇikkai* being used as a suffix.

Table 1

LANGUAGE	A Inscriptions examined	B Inscriptions yielding revenue terms	C Number of revenue terms	D Total occurrence of the terms	E Single-occurrence terms
Kannada	2330	438	556	1794	417
Telugu	1224	306	260	775	167
Tamil	2510	481	631	3238	313

Table 2(A)

DISTRIBUTION OF KANNADA INSCRIPTIONS WITH REVENUE TERMS

REGION	PERIOD 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	NP	TOTAL
NORTH	1	18	42	2	73	38	5	2	181
WEST	-	15	20	16	5	2	1	-	59
SOUTH	-	18	13	15	47	28	3	-	124
EAST	2	10	12	9	29	8	3	1	74
Total	3	61	87	42	154	76	12	3	438

Table 2(B)

DISTRIBUTION OF TERM OCCURRENCES IN KANNADA INSCRIPTIONS

REGION	PERIOD 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	NP	TOTAL
NORTH	11	80	252	5	228	104	6	8	694
WEST	-	56	34	32	16	5	1	-	144
SOUTH	-	90	100	102	279	119	7	-	697
EAST	12	60	31	42	71	18	24	1	259
Total	23	286	417	181	594	246	38	9	1794

Table 3(A)

DISTRIBUTION OF TELUGU INSCRIPTIONS WITH REVENUE TERMS

| REGION | PERIOD | | | | | | | | |
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	NP	TOTAL
WEST	4	1	7	4	102	58	3	3	182
NORTH EAST	17	3	7	-	16	26	3	-	72
SOUTH EAST	-	1	-	-	10	7	34	-	52
Total	21	5	14	4	128	91	40	3	306

Table 3(B)

DISTRIBUTION OF TERM OCCURRENCES IN TELUGU INSCRIPTIONS

| REGION | PERIOD | | | | | | | | |
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	NP	TOTAL
WEST	11	4	20	11	268	117	7	14	452
NORTH EAST	60	12	12	-	62	84	4	-	234
SOUTH EAST	-	1	-	-	24	18	46	-	89
Total	71	17	32	11	354	219	57	14	775

Table 4(A)

DISTRIBUTION OF TAMIL INSCRIPTIONS WITH REVENUE TERMS

| REGION | PERIOD | | | | | | | |
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	TOTAL
CHANDRAGIRI	6	11	23	13	12	4	3	72
PADAIVIDU	23	21	36	24	45	13	10	172
VALUDILAMPATTU	3	15	44	33	41	8	-	144
TIRUCHIRAPPALLI-TIRUVARUR	-	2	10	18	13	5	2	50
PUDUKKOTTAI	-	4	7	13	19	-	-	43
Total	32	53	120	101	130	30	15	481

Table 5

DISTRIBUTION OF FREQUENT REVENUE TERMS IN KANNAḌA INSCRIPTIONS

TERM	REGION				TOTAL	PERIOD							
	N	W	S	E		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	NP
alivu	8	1	4	-	13	-	6	2	-	2	2	-	1
anyāya	9	10	7	-	26	-	11	4	3	4	3	-	1
bēdige	9	3	20	5	37	-	2	1	4	19	11	-	-
bhattādāya	7	-	5	6	18	1	-	2	-	8	5	2	-
birāda	32	4	10	6	52	-	2	9	3	31	7	-	-
biṭṭi	29	-	11	4	44	-	7	6	2	19	9	1	-
grāma-gadyāṇa	15	-	2	-	17	-	2	15	-	-	-	-	-
hadike	8	3	1	-	12	-	6	4	1	-	-	-	1
hodake	6	2	3	-	11	-	7	3	1	-	-	-	-
horavāru	3	-	15	-	18	-	-	8	3	6	1	-	-
jōdi	5	1	3	2	11	-	1	1	-	6	3	-	-
kaddāya	13	3	6	3	25	-	5	6	4	8	2	-	-
kandāya	6	4	-	1	11	-	3	1	1	4	2	-	-
kāṇike	26	3	22	13	64	-	9	5	7	32	8	2	1
koṭṭaṇa	9	-	2	-	11	-	5	3	-	3	-	-	-
kula	24	9	9	-	42	1	9	15	5	9	2	1	-
kumbāra-dere	-	-	11	-	11	-	1	1	3	6	-	-	-
mādārike	2	-	11	-	13	-	-	3	1	8	1	-	-
maduveya-suṅka	14	-	-	8	22	-	-	4	-	2	16	-	-
magga-dere	4	-	32	10	46	-	5	7	6	17	8	3	-
mane-vaṇa	2	-	25	3	30	-	1	1	3	17	7	1	-
siddhāya	35	21	3	4	63	1	13	18	8	15	7	1	-
suṅka	22	4	45	22	93	-	6	13	8	39	23	3	1
suṅka-kāruka	11	-	-	-	11	-	2	9	-	-	-	-	-
suvarṇādāya	22	1	36	21	80	1	2	9	5	35	23	4	1
talavārike	17	-	10	5	32	-	1	6	4	12	9	-	-
terige	10	6	5	2	23	-	2	1	4	13	3	-	-
udugore	12	2	-	1	15	1	2	9	2	1	-	-	-
volavāru	3	-	12	-	15	-	1	6	2	5	1	-	-

Region   -   *Districts*

N (=North)	-	Dharwar, North Kanara, Bellary, Shimoga, Chitradurga and Chikkamagalur
W (=West)	-	South Kanara
S (=South)	-	Hassan, Mysore and Mandya
E (=East)	-	Tumkur, Kolar and Bangalore

Table 6

DISTRIBUTION OF FREQUENT REVENUE TERMS IN TELUGU INSCRIPTIONS

TERM	REGION			TOTAL	PERIOD							
	W	NE	SE		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	NP
ceruvu-mēra	-	-	21	21	-	-	-	-	-	-	21	-
dhānyādāya	6	2	2	10	-	-	-	-	8	1	-	1
dommari-pannu	16	1	1	18	-	-	-	-	9	8	-	1
grāma-kaṭnam	11	-	-	11	-	-	-	-	10	1	-	-
kāṇika	43	14	2	59	6	-	2	1	36	11	3	-
kaḍāyam	4	4	2	10	-	1	-	-	5	3	1	-
kaṭnam	15	8	-	23	-	-	2	1	11	9	-	-
maṅgaḍla-pannu	12	2	1	15	-	-	-	-	12	3	-	-
mēra	2	7	17	26	6	1	-	-	1	4	14	-
pannu	14	12	-	26	4	-	4	1	8	8	-	1
pullari	2	9	-	11	4	-	-	-	4	3	-	-
rokha-dhānyālu	10	-	2	12	-	-	-	-	10	2	-	-
rokham	6	5	-	11	-	-	-	-	2	9	-	-
sidhāyam	15	1	1	17	-	-	1	-	11	5	-	-
suṅka	17	20	2	39	8	1	2	1	18	8	1	-
suvarṇādāyam	10	3	2	15	1	-	-	-	11	2	-	1
vartana	17	3	1	21	-	-	-	-	7	13	1	-
veṭṭi-vēmulu	16	4	2	22	-	-	1	-	12	8	-	1

Region   -   *Districts*

W (= West)   -   Kurnool, Anantapur, and Cuddapah
NE (= North East)   -   Guntur and Prakasam
SE (= South East)   -   Chittoor and Nellore

Table 7

DISTRIBUTION OF FREQUENT REVENUE TERMS IN TAMIL INSCRIPTIONS

TERM	REGION					TOTAL	PERIOD						
	Cn	Pv	Vp	TT	Pd		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
āḷamanji	3	8	16	3	2	32	1	3	7	9	6	3	3
arasu-pēṟu	-	-	18	7	-	25	-	2	7	7	9	-	-
arisi-kāṇam	11	12	11	-	-	34	14	7	9	4	-	-	-
āsupodumakkaḷ-pērkkaḍamai	2	10	8	3	-	23	12	3	5	2	1	-	-
āyam	16	27	18	4	-	65	14	7	19	18	3	4	-
idaiturai	1	10	11	5	1	28	-	3	5	8	11	1	-
inavari	1	7	11	3	-	22	9	2	4	7	-	-	-
iṟai	3	7	3	2	10	25	-	5	2	6	8	3	1
irĕkai	4	7	13	5	-	29	-	1	6	7	10	4	1
jōḍi	5	12	22	4	-	43	-	-	14	11	18	-	-
kaḍamai	12	23	24	1	12	72	15	12	19	13	12	1	-
kāṇikkai	9	24	39	5	9	86	2	8	25	24	22	4	1
kaṭṭāyam	7	12	7	1	-	27	-	-	5	10	8	3	1
kōṇigai	-	5	13	3	-	21	-	1	6	6	8	-	-
mugampārvai	7	10	4	-	-	21	9	-	4	3	5	-	-
nal-erudu	11	14	26	4	1	56	9	4	17	11	15	-	-
nal-kiḍā	5	8	7	1	-	21	5	4	5	3	4	-	-
nal-pasu	6	9	16	2	-	33	1	1	7	10	14	-	-
nāṭṭu-viniyōgam	-	1	24	-	-	25	1	2	15	4	3	-	-
palavari	4	14	17	5	-	40	2	2	10	13	11	2	-
paṭṭaḍai-nūlāyam	4	17	4	-	-	25	-	3	7	4	9	2	-
pĕrk-kaḍamai	1	9	13	4	1	28	3	3	2	5	14	1	-
pon-vari	13	16	11	-	-	40	15	8	9	5	3	-	-
pudu-vari	4	18	17	6	-	45	5	2	10	15	11	2	-
sādam	2	19	-	-	-	21	-	1	12	7	1	-	-
sūla-vari	8	21	10	7	1	47	12	7	11	10	7	-	-
talaiyārikkam	3	9	14	2	-	28	-	3	4	8	12	1	-
taṟik-kaḍamai	8	19	21	5	1	54	6	6	13	7	19	2	1
upādi	13	41	39	7	3	103	16	20	27	22	17	1	-
vari	4	17	15	3	-	39	15	7	7	7	3	-	-
vāsal-paṇam	8	7	10	1	-	26	3	6	13	2	2	-	-
veṭṭi-vari	3	8	9	5	-	25	1	6	5	7	6	-	-
viniyōgam	3	2	19	2	12	38	-	3	12	15	8	-	-

Cn - Chandragiri rājya (Chittoor and Chengalpattu Dts)
Pv - Paḍaiviḍu rājya (North Arcot and part of Chengalpattu Dt)
Vp - Vaḷudilampaṭṭu rājya (South Arcot and part of Chengalpattu Dt)
TT - Tiruvārūr & Tiruchirappaḷḷi rājyas (Thanjavur & Tiruchirappalli Dts)
Pd - Pudukkōṭṭai region (Pudukkottai Dt)

MAP OF
VIJAYANAGAR REVENUE TERM DISTRIBUTION

AH – Anantapur
BL – Bellary
DH – Bangalore
CD – Chitradurga
CM – Chikkamagalur
CT – Chittoor
CU – Cuddapah
DH – Dharwar
GN – Guntur
HN – Hassan
KL – Kolar
KN – Kurnool
MD – Mandya
MY – Mysore
NK – North Kanara
NL – Nellore
PK – Prakasam
SH – Shimoga
SK – South Kanara
TH – Tumkur

State Boundary
Region/Rajya boundary
District Boundary
△ rajya headquarters
● District headquarters

0   50   100   150   200
km

6.   THE TRANSITION FROM THE NUMERICAL FROM THE DECIMAL SYSTEM IN THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ORISSA

Subrata Kumar Acharya

I

The decimal system of writing numbers is the most convenient for all purposes of notation and calculation. It has nine unit-figures and a zero and it also involves the application of the principle of space value. The system which is now popular all over the world apparently originated in India,[1] probably in Central India about A.D. 500.[2] Prior to this simplified form, a complicated system was used in early Brāhmī inscriptions of India. In this the first three numerals are expressed by one, two and three horizontal strokes, the rest (four, etc.) have distinct figures, and there is a distinct figure for each of the orders of number (ten, twenty, etc.) up to one hundred which, as well as one thousand, has a sign to itself. The intermediate units are expressed by simply adding their signs. The simplification of this imperfect numerical system is made by the rejection of all the signs except those for the nine units, and by the invention of the zero. But none of the authorities so far dealing with the subject has arrived at any conclusion as to how this complicated numerical system was abandoned in favour of the simplified decimal notation. The inscriptions of Orissa, especially arrest our attention to give us a clear insight into the process of the transition from the numerical to the decimal system. In the present paper, therefore, an attempt has been made to trace the transitional phase as gleaned from the Orissan epigraphs.

II

The inscriptions of the Māṭharas (c. A.D. 350-500) of Kaliṅga supply us the earliest numerical signs which also continued to be used by the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara for some time. It was the usual practice of the Māṭhara rulers to express the dates in their regnal years while the Eastern Gaṅgas started a new era of their own and used it in their records. Almost all the epigraphs of the latter are dated in this specified era, known as Gaṅga era, the initial year of which has been fixed at A.D. 498.[3] In the dated inscriptions of the Nalas, the Śarabhapurīyas and the Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs of South Kosala, of the Dattas, the Mudgalas and the Vigrahas of Toṣalī or Utkala, and of the Śailodbhavas of Koṅgoda the dates are either mentioned in words or in numerical symbols. Later on the Bhaumakaras who held their sway over Toṣalī and a host of other minor ruling families such as the Śulkis, the Tuṅgas, the Nandodbhavas, (optionally) the Bhañjas, etc., also continued to use the numerical system of dating in their

epigraphs for a considerable time. It is worth mentioning here that the Bhaumakaras started a new era of their own, i.e., the Bhauma era, the initial year of which has been fixed at A.D. 736.[4]

As has been mentioned above, in this system the first three numerals are expressed by one, two and three horizontal or cursive strokes. From four to nine each digit has a different sign. There is also a distinct sign for each of the orders of numbers such as 10, 20, 30, 40, etc. up to 100. The intermediate units are expressed simply by adding their signs. For example, 146 is expressed by the sign for 100, followed by that for 40 and then by 6. There is not the least trace of the use of the zero in this system. The principle of value according to position which is an important feature of the decimal system is conspicuous by its absence. Besides, more often the dates of the inscriptions are also mentioned both in words and numerals which confirms the decipherment of the numerical signs.

The Eastern Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga were first to use the decimal system of notation in their epigraphs. The Siddhantam grant of Devendravarma, son of Guṇārṇava of year 195,[5] is the earliest grant so far found in Orissa where the decimal notation is expressed in its fully perfected form. But the Eastern Gaṅgas took a long time to get the system perfected. Often the potential zero which is an important element in decimal notation is found to have been used wrongly in the inscriptions. In the Urlam plates of Indravarman of year 80,[6] the editor has noticed a zero after the numerical symbol for 80. Here the zero is quite superfluous. In the Chicacol plates of *Mahārāja* Indravarman of year 128, the second or middle symbol is expressed by a zero which has been explained by Fleet as 20.[7] This has been done apparently on the analogy of the date symbols in the Mankuwar Buddhist image inscription of the time of Kumāragupta I of *Samvat* 129.[8] There is some controversy regarding the date of the Chicacole, [9] Purle,[10] and Tekkali[11] plates of Indravarman supposed to have been issued in 146, 149 and 154 Gaṅga era respectively. While editing the Tekkali plates, E. Hultzsch has re-examined the dates of these grants and admitted the existence of the decimal system of notation in reading the date symbols. After re-examination the date of the Purle plates turned out to be (not 100 40 9, but) 100 37 = 137, that of the Chicacole plates to be (not 100 40 6, but) 100 38 = 138 and the date of the Tekkali plates to be (not 100 50 4, but) 100 54 = 154.[12] The first of the three figures is expressed by the numerical symbol 100 and the remaining figures are decimals.

In the subsequent Eastern Gaṅga grants, viz. (a) the Chicacol plates of year 183,[13] (b) the Dharmalingesvara plates of year 184,[14] and (c) the Trilingi plates of year 192,[15] all belonging to the time of Devendravarman, son of Guṇārṇava, the

hundred sign is similarly expressed in numerical while the ten and unit figures are in decimal. Hultzsch, who had earlier deciphered the date of the Chicacol plates of Devendravarman of year 183 as 100 80 3, re-examined the date in the light of the Tekkali plates of Indravarman which is written partly in numerical and partly in decimal, and derived at the conclusion that the middle sign is certainly not the numerical symbol 80, but the decimal 8.[16] However, Kielhorn had already made that remark earlier.[17] This is also applicable to the middle figure of the Dharmalingesvara plates of Devendravarman of year 184 (100 8 4) because both the figures closely resemble each other. The third figure of the year does not resemble the usual form of '3', but as the date is also recorded in words, it must mean 3. Bühler solved this problem in a very ingenious manner by explaining the figure 3 of the plates as an abbreviation of *Loka*, 'the (three) worlds'.[18] Hence the year would be in reality 100 8 3 = 183. The day of the same grant consists of the decimal figure 2 followed by a zero = 20. This is therefore the earliest grant in which we notice the first correct use of the zero. Later on, the day of the Trilingi plates of Devendravarman is also specified similarly with a decimal figure 3 followed by a zero = 30.

In the Trilingi plates of Devendravarman of year 192 the first figure is still a numerical sign for 100 and the remaining two figures are in decimal. Subsequent to this grant even the first figure ceases to be represented by a numerical symbol and is expressed by a decimal in 195, the date of the Siddhantam plates of the same ruler. The editors of both the grants have taken the middle symbol to be 90 and are of the opinion that the dates are numerical. But here we get an occasion to re-examine the symbol in the light of a good number of contemporary documents. The symbol in question is represented in the Trilingi plates by a semi-circle open at the bottom and a vertical stroke attached to its right goes up from the lower limb of the semicircle and thereby forms another curve at the bottom. Similar symbols are also noticed in the Midnapur grant of Somadatta of year 19,[19] the Narasingapalli grant of Hastivarman of year 79,[20] the Svalpavelura grant of Anatavarman of year 9[21] and the Chidivalsa grant of Devendravarman of year 397[22] which have been taken by the respective editors as 9 but not 90. Moreover, neither Bühler nor Ojha has reproduced a similar sign denoting the numeral 90. It is therefore reasonable to believe that the middle symbol of the two grants under discussion should be taken as 9.

In the Pherava grant of the Śvetaka Gaṅga king Sāmantavarman,[23] the date 185 is also expressed by symbol for 100, followed by the decimal figures 8 and 5. In spite of all hypotheses regarding the era in which it is mentioned, the above system of writing the date makes it evident that the grant was dated in Ganga

era 185, equivalent to A.D. 683.

From the above discussion it is apparent that both the numerical and decimal systems of notation existed in Kalinga during the seventh century, and that some used one and some the other. But it is quite unintelligible to us why a mongrel system should be used in expressing the same date, i.e., numerical symbols for the digits in the hundreds position and decimal symbols for the tens and units. Very likely it was a period of transition from the numerical to the decimal system which ultimately found expression in the Siddhantam grant of Devendravarman of year 195 (= A.D. 693). Here, in the hundreds position the figure for 1 is written instead of 100 in the numerical system, followed by 9 and in the unit place the figure for 5. Value according to position is also correctly followed in the copper plate grants of the Gangas of Kalinganagara, where the dates are expressed decimally. In the Sudeva grant of Devendravarman of year 204,[24] the tenth place is expressed by a potential zero.

III

At this time in the other cultural regions of Orissa, such as Kongoda, Tosali, Utkala and Kosala the numerical system was still in vogue. Occasionally because of the influence of the decimal system a few inscriptions of these region also exhibited traces of decimal notation. The Chandesvara plates of Sailodbhava king Dharmaraja II alias Manabhita[25] (c. A.D. 700-25) dated in regnal year of the ruler has been written as 10 0 8. The two fold mistake in the present case is that ten was written by the symbol for 10 and a zero, instead of one and a zero, and that the zero was retained in spite of 8 occupying the place of the unit. This is apparently due to the influnce of the decimal system of writing dates which was prevalent during this time in the adjoining Kalinga region. A century after, the Bhaumakara rulers also followed the practice. But they too used the zero wrongly.

IV

In the Terundia plate of Subhakara II,[26] dated in Bhauma era 100 (=A.D. 836), the number 100 is represented by the usual *lu* symbol which is rather unusually followed by a zero. The use of the zero here apparently indicates the absence of the ten and unit elements in the number. Both the Hindol[27] and the Dharakot[28] plates belonging to the same ruler are dated in the year 103 (=A.D. 839), the former of *Sravana su di* 7 and the latter of *Bhadrapadu su di* 7. It is interesting to note that while the number 103 has been written in the Dharakot plate as 100 3 in the usual way, the same number has been written in the Hindol plate as 100 0 3 with the cypher indicating the absence of the ten element in it. After the Bhauma era 103, the rest of the Bhauma grants are dated in numerical symbols until we come to the grant of Vakulamahadevi[29] dated

in Bhauma era 204 (=A.D. 940), which is again written the same way as the Hindol plate of Śubhākara II. After the symbol for 200 there are the sign for the zero and the sign for 4. The use of the zero is obviously intended to indicate the absence of any symbols denoting ten or its multiples after the sign 200, and also shows the coming into vogue of the practice of writing the numbers in the decimal system.

A good number of copperrplate grants belonging to different dynasties ruling contemporaneously with the Bhaumakaras are dated in an unspecified era. The era appears to be identical with the reckoning used in the records of the imperial family of the Bhaumakaras of Orissa as well as in those of some of their feudatories. Palaeographically they all belong to the 9th-10th centuries.

The Badakhemundi plates of the Śvetaka Ganga king *Rāṇaka* Jayavarmadeva[30] is dated 100 of an unspecified era. The date is mentioned both in words and in decimal. Some scholars hold the opinion that era probably referred to the Ganga era.[31] But our observations tempt us to offer the opinion that it cannot be the Ganga era and very likely it is identical with the Bhauma era. From the above discussion, it is already clear that the Gangas of Kalinganagara, who constituted the main line of Eastern Gangas, used the decimal system of notation for the first time in the year 195 (= A.D.

693). It has also been shown that prior to this date the grants exhibited the use of both numerical and decimal systems side by side. Moreover, palaeographically the characters of the Pherava grant of the Śvetaka Ganga king Sāmantavarman of year 185 (=A.D. 683) are definitely anterior to those of the grant under discussion.[32] It is therefore highly improbable to think of the date 100 of the grant as referring to the Ganga era, rather than the Bhauma era 100 (=A.D. 836). The use of the title *Rāṇaka* by Jayavarmadeva and the (Bhauma) era in his grant makes us believe that the king was a feudatory of the Bhaumakaras of Tosali. On account of the proximity of the Śvetaka region to Kalinga, and as the Śvetaka Gangas were a collateral branch of the main line of the Gangas of Kalinganagara, it is not unreasonable to believe that they used the decimal system while the numerical system was in vogue in other cultural regions. While engraving the copper plate grants, the scribes under Śvetaka kings not only emulated the characters but also the numeral system prevalent in Kalinga.

The Pandiapathara plates of Bhīmasena of year 89,[33] the Orissa Museum plates of Narendradhavala of year 189,[34], the Dasapalla[35] and the Ganjam[36] plates of Śatrubhañja, the last two belonging to year 198, also display the use of the decimal notation. The editors of the above epigraphs were of the opinion that the reckonings used in these records are iden-

tical with the Bhauma era and as such they all belonged to the first half of the tenth century. While the date of the Orissa Museum plates is written in numerical symbols 100 followed by 80 and then by 9., the day of the month of *Phālguna* is expressed in decimal 1 which occupies the place of ten and 2 the place of unit. Similarly, unlike the known records of the Bhañjas of Khiñjalimṇdala, which are dated usually in the regnal reckoning of the kings, the Dasapalla and Ganjam plates of Śatrubhñjā Tribhūvanakalaśa of (Bhauma) year 198 (=A.D. 934) are written according to the decimal system of numerals.[37]

It may seem to be peculiar that these rulers adopted the practice of decimal notation while during this time the Bhaumakaras were still using the numerical system. But the reason is obvious. From the Pandiapathara and the Orissa State Museum plates of Bhīmasena and Narendradhavala respectively we come to know that they were ruling over Khiṇḍiraśṛṅgamaṇḍala.[38] Khiṇḍiraśṛṅgamaṇḍala was situated between the kingdom of Kaliṅga of the Gaṅgas and Khiñjalimaṇḍala of the Bhañjas. These two kingdoms were in Ganjam region, as is known from the inscriptions of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara and the Bhañjas of Khiñjalimaṇḍala. Both the charters of Bhīmasena and of Narendradhavala were also discovered from the above region and it may

be assumed that the kingdom of the Nalas was also situated somewhere in the district of Ganjam. This proves without suspicion that the geographical proximity of Khiṇḍiraśṛṅgamaṇḍala and Khiñjalimaṇḍala with Kaliṅga led to borrowing of traditions from one region to the other. The decimal system which was prevalent in Kaliṅga in the 8th-9th centuries gradually penetrated to the north, and considerably influenced the practice in these regions also.

V

The transition from the numerical to the decimal system in South Kośala is abrupt.[39] In the epigraphs of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs of South Kośala though we find the dates are written in numerical signs, in those of the Somavaṁśīs they are found in decimal. So by the second half of the ninth century the decimal system was current in South Kośala. With the fall of the Bhaumakaras Toṣalī at some time after A.D. 940, the date of the grant of Vakulamahādevī, the Somavaṁśī king Yayāti I (c. A.D. 925-55) united Utkala with Kośala[40] and thereafter in the inscriptions of both the cultural regions the decimal system of notation was used invariably for an extensive time. During this period in the extreme north-eastern part of Orissa, the Bhañjas of Khijjiṅgakoṭṭa were also inspired by the new system. Although initially in some of the dated inscriptions, such as the Bamanaghati plate of

Raṇabhañjadeva dated *Samvat* 188,[41] and the Adipur plate of Narendrabhañjadeva dated *Samvat* 193,[42] the numerical system of notation is used; later on in the inscriptions of Pṛthvībhañja we find the dates are written in decimals. The Ukhunda[43] plate of Prthvibhahja is dated in the 10th day of the bright fortnight of *Jyeṣṭha*, in the regnal year 4 of the ruler. Here in the day portion, the figure 1 is followed by a zero. Palaeographically the grant is dated in the 10th century A.D.

VI

In conclusion it may be surmised that the transition from the numerical to the decimal system was first effected by the Eastern Gaṅgas from the middle of the 7th century. The system was perfected around the close of the same century and thereafter the tradition gradually flowed to more northerly regions such as Toṣalī, Utkala and South Kośala. Although a good number of dated inscriptions belonging to the different dynasties ruling contemporaneously in the 9th century exhibit the apparent influence of the decimal system, yet they were not at all correctly reckoned. Only the cultural unification of the different regions at some time in the middle of the 10th century by the Somavaṁśīs fostered a uniform pattern of dating the epigraphs in decimal.

References :

1.   Sir E.C. Baley, Genealogy of Numerals, *J.R.A.S.*, XIV. p. 335.

2.   Burnell, *Elements of South Indian Palaeography*, London (1878), p. 61; D.C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, Delhi (1965), p.221.

   Buhler was of the opinion that the earliest epigraphic instance of the use of decimal notation occured in the Gurjara inscription of the Chedi year 346 or A.D. 595. (*Indian Palaeography*, Calcutta, 1962, p. 126).

3.   E.I., XXVI, (1941-42), p. 326 f. ; XXVII, (1947-48) p. 192; V.V. Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, II. Sholapur (1961). pp. 110-27.

4.   *O.H.R.J.*, IV, 3 & 4, (1955-56), pp. 71-72.

5.   *E.I.*, XIII, (1915-16), pp. 212-16 ff.

6.   *Ibid.*, XVII, (1923-24), p. 333.

7.   *I.A.*, XIII (1884). p. 110 f.

8.   *C.I.I.*, III, Calcutta (1971), p. 47

9.   *I.A.*, XIII, (1884), p. 123 f.

10. *E.I.*, XIV, (1917-18), pp. 360-63 ff.

11. *Ibid.*, XVIII, (1925-26), pp. 307-11 ff.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 308.

13. *Ibid.*, III, (1894-95), pp. 130-34 ff.

14. *J.A.H.R.S.*, II (1928), pp. 275-76 ff.; *E.I.*, XXVI, (1941-42, pp. 62-65 ff.

15. *I.H.Q.*, XI, (1935), pp. 300-03 ff.; XX, (1944), pp. 232-36 ff.

16. *E.I.*, XVIII, (1925-26), pp. 307-08.

17. *Ibid.*, V. (1898-99), Appendix, p. 97, n.7.

18. *Indian Palaeography*, p. 119.

19. *J.A.S.B.*, XI, 1, (1945), pp. 7-8.

20. *E.I.*, XXIII (1935-36), pp. 62-67 ff.

21. *Ibid.*, XXIV, (1937-38), pp. 129-37 ff.

22. *J.A.H.R.S.*, II, 2, (1928), pp. 146-68 ff.; *J.A.S.*, Letters, XVIII, (1952), pp. 78-81 ff.

23. *E.I.*, XXVII, (1947-48), p.III

24. *J.A.H.R.S.*, II, 3 & 4, (1928), pp. 271-76 ff.; *E.I.*, XXVI, (1941-54), pp. 269 ff.

25. *J.K.H.R.S.*, II, i, (1947), pp. 59-79 ff.; *E.I.*, XXX, (1953-54), pp. 269 ff.

    S.N. Rajaguru reads the date of the grant as 105 in line 39 of the plates. (*O.H.R.J.* II, 3 & 4, 1953-54 p. 10).

26. *E.I.*, XXVIII, (1949-50), pp. 211-16 ff.

27. *J.B.O.R.S.*, XVI, (1930), pp. 69-83 ff., XVII, (1931), pp. 198-201 ff.

28. *J.A.H.R.S.*, IV, iii & iv, (January & April 1930, pp. 189-94 ff.

29. *E.I.*, XXXVI, (1961), pp. 307-12 ff.

30. *Ibid.*, XXIII (1935-36), pp. 267-69 ff.

31. S.N. Chakravarti was of the opinion that the grant was dated in Ganga era 100, and the script seemed to him to be of a much later period than the sixth century A.D. He, therefore, doubts the genuineness of the record. Similarly S.N. Rajaguru also opined that the date is apparently mentioned in Ganga era

100 and as he fixed the initial year of the era at A.D. 626-27, he derived the date of the present grant at A.D. 726-27. (*Inscriptions of Orissa*, II, Bhubaneswar, 1960, p. 248.).

32.   The test letters *ma, ya, ra, la, sa,* etc. are noteworthy in this connection,

33.   *E.I.,* XXXIV, (1961062), pp. 233-37 ff.

34.   *Ibid.,* XLI, pp. 148-53 ff.

35.   *O.H.R.J.,* I, 3, (October, 1952), pp. 208-12 ff.

36.   *Ibid.,* IV, 3 & 4, (1955-56), pp. 67-76 ff.

37.   There is a good deal of controversy regarding the dates of a number of copper plate grants of the Bhañjas of Khiñjalimaṇḍala.

38.   Very probably Narendradhavala was a scion of Nala family of Khiṇḍiraśṛṅgamaṇḍala.

39.   According to V.V. Mirashi, "In the Lodhia plates of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī Mahāśivagupta Balārjuna the regnal year 57 is expressed in the numerical symbols for 50 and 7, though the *tithi* 30 is given in the decimal notation". (*Studies in Indology.* II, p. 252 n.).

       But in the facsimiles published in *J.K.H.R.S.,* III, (1948), plate facing p. 122 and also in *E.I.,* XXVII, (1947-48), plate facing p. 325 we could not trace out the cypher after the figure 3 in the *tithi* (day) portion of the grant.

40.   B.K.Rath, *Cultural History of Orissa (A.D. 855-1110). Delhi (1983), p. 65 f.*

41.   *J.A.S.B., XL, (1871), pp. 161-67 ff.*

42.   *E.I., XXV, (1939-40), pp. 147-57 ff.*

43.   *I.H.Q., XIII, (1937), pp. 418-31 ff.*

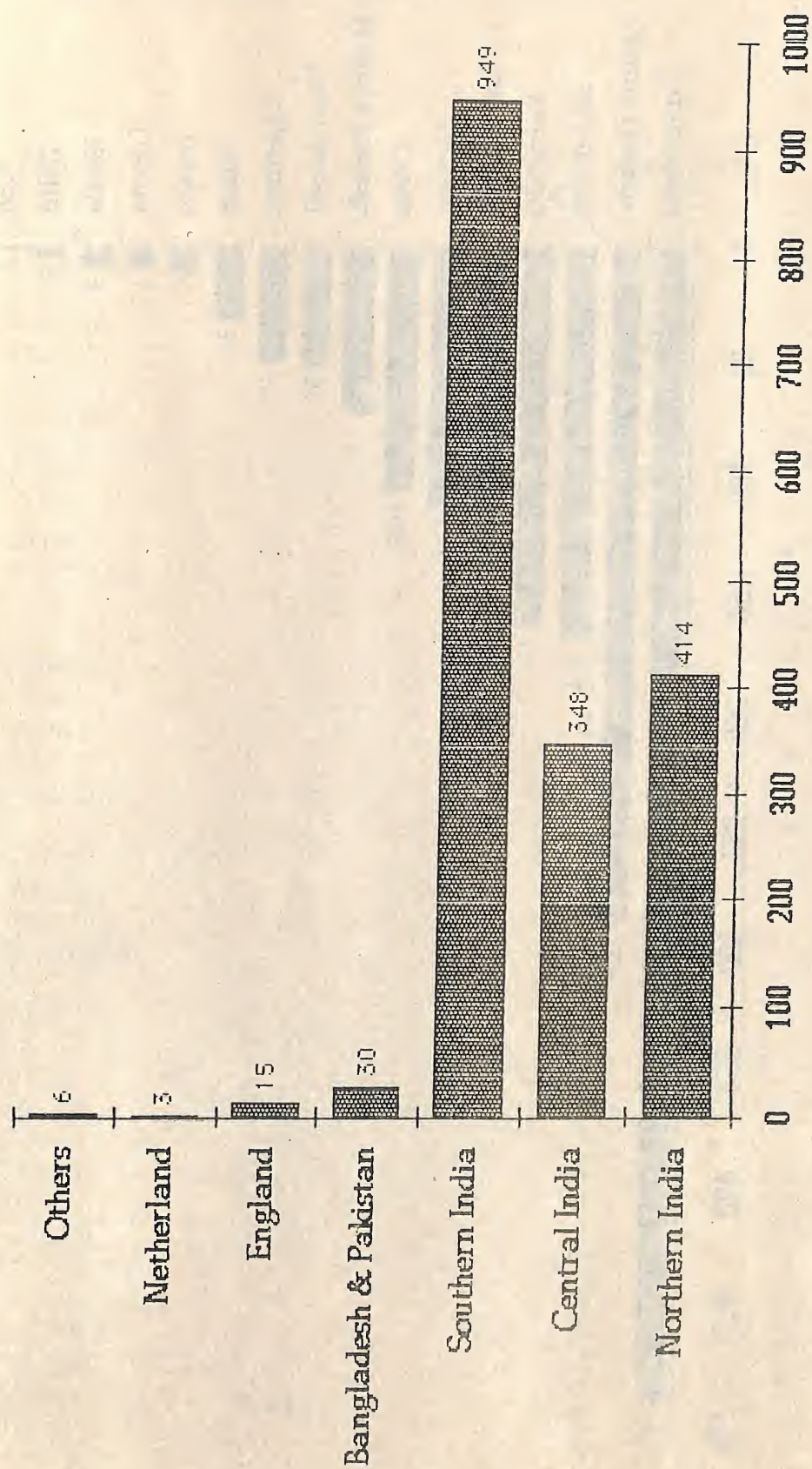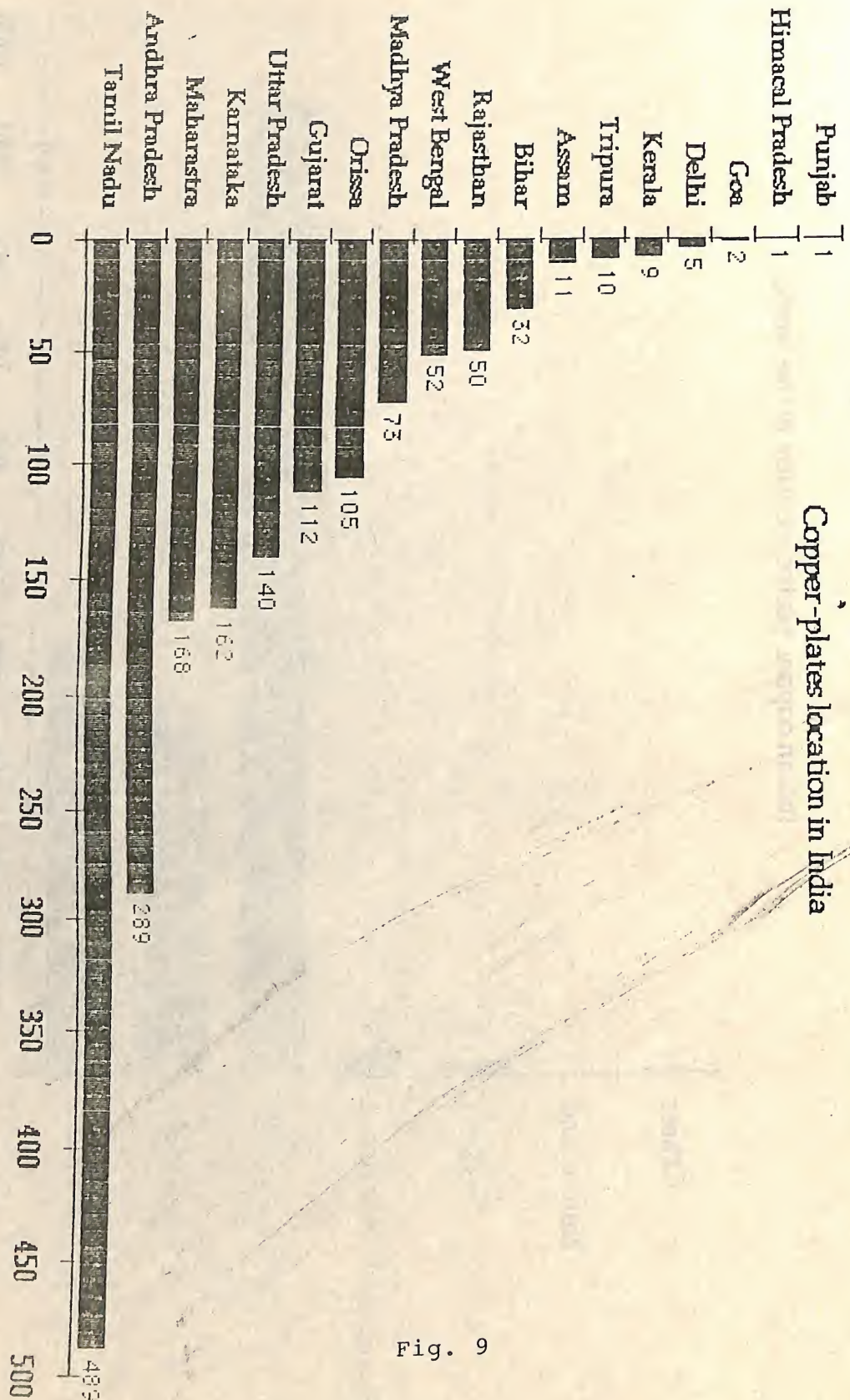Indian copper-plates location in the world

Fig. 8

Copper-plates location in India

State	Value
Punjab	1
Himacal Pradesh	1
Goa	1
Delhi	2
Kerala	5
Tripura	9
Assam	10
Bihar	11
Rajasthan	32
West Bengal	50
Madhya Pradesh	52
Orissa	73
Gujarat	105
Uttar Pradesh	112
Karnataka	140
Maharastra	162
Andhra Pradesh	168
Tamil Nadu	289
	485

Fig. 9

PLATE 1 -   *Languages used in bilingual inscriptions.*

Sanskrit + Telugu	540 specimens
Sanskrit + Tamil	420 =
Sanskrit + Kannada	370 =
Sanskrit + Local dialect	180 =
Sanskrit + Persian	80 =
Sanskrit + Prakrit	21 =
Sanskrit + Marathi	12 =
Sanskrit + Bengali	7 =
Sanskrit + Gujarati	6 =
Sanskrit + Apabhramsa	3 =
Sanskrit + Arabic	3 =
Sanskrit + Hindi	3 =
Sanskrit + Oriya	2 =
Sanskrit + Rajasthani	1 =
Sanskrit + Urdu	1 =
Tamil + Telugu	29 =
Tamil + Kannada	9 =
Tamil + Persian	5 =
Tamil + English	2 =
Tamil + Arabic	1 =
Tamil + Malayalam	1 =
Tamil + Oriya	1 =
Kannada + Telugu	27 =
Kannada + Persian	7 =
Kannada + Marathi	4 =
Kannada + Malayalam	1 =
Hindi + Urdu	4 =
Hindi + Persian	4 =
Hindi + Oriya	1 =
Telugu + Persian	7 =
Telugu + English	4 =
Telugu + Marathi	1 =
Marathi + Persian	12 =
Marathi + Arabic	1 =
Marathi + English	1 =
Local dialect + Persian	120 =
Local dialect + Arabic	3 =
Local dialect + Urdu	3 =
Gujarati + Persian	2 =
Gujarati + Arabic	1 =
Bengali + Arabic	2 =
Malayalam + Arabic	2 =

8. THE EARLY USE OF DECIMAL NOTATION IN INDIAN EPIGRAPHS

B.N. Mukherjee

The use of decimal notations in expressing dates in the Indian epigraphs became a regular feature from about the 9th century A.D. in the Indian subcontinent or at least in various parts of it.[1] The earliest occurrence of this system in an epigraph may be found in the Mankani inscription of Taralasvāmin of the year 346, assignable to the era of A.D. 249 and so datable to c. A.D. 595.[2] But this and also another early example noticeable in the Dhiniki stone inscription of the year 794 (of the era of 58 B.C.) or c. A.D. 736[3] are generally considered as spurious records.[4] The date (year 699 of the Vikrama Samvat or the era of 58 B.C.) in a third record (Saklrai stone inscription)[5] cannot be considered here since the date itself has been read variously as the year 699, the year 749 and the year 879.[6] However, the Shergarh record of Devadatta of the year 847 (of the Vikrama era) or c. A.D. 789 is generally accepted as a genuine document and its date in decimal figures is considered by some scholars as the earliest instance from north India of the use of the system concerned.[7]

We have at least one record from the Eastern part of the subcontinent which is datable to the 7th century A.D. and where the date covering a year appears to have been expressed in decimal figures. We are referring to a copper-plate inscription of Devakhadga, found long ago at Ashrafpur in the then Dacca district (now in Bangladesh).[8] His family ruled in *inter alia* Samataṭa in the second half of the 7th century A.D.[9] The year recorded in this epigraph is generally read us 10 (+) 3.[10] But the figure (fig. 1) read as "10" is no where else in "Bengal" (West Bental and Bangladesh) noted for carrying that value.[11] On the other hand, it surely resembles one of the well-known signs for denoting the numeral "12". So the year (fig. 2) can be read as 73 (pl I). If it is referred to the Harasha Era of 606 A.D.[13], the inscription may be placed in c. A.D. 679, - a date which fits well with the known period of the rule of the Khḍgas.

It, should, however be noted that in the epigraph concerned the date of the month *Pausha di 20(+)5* is expressed in numerical symbols.[14] So, if the year has actually been noted in this inscription in decimal figures, then it should be taken as an example of the period of transition from the system of using numerical symbols to that of the decimal notation.

In this connection we may discuss the evidence of a much earlier inscription. It is on the pedestal of an image of the Bud-
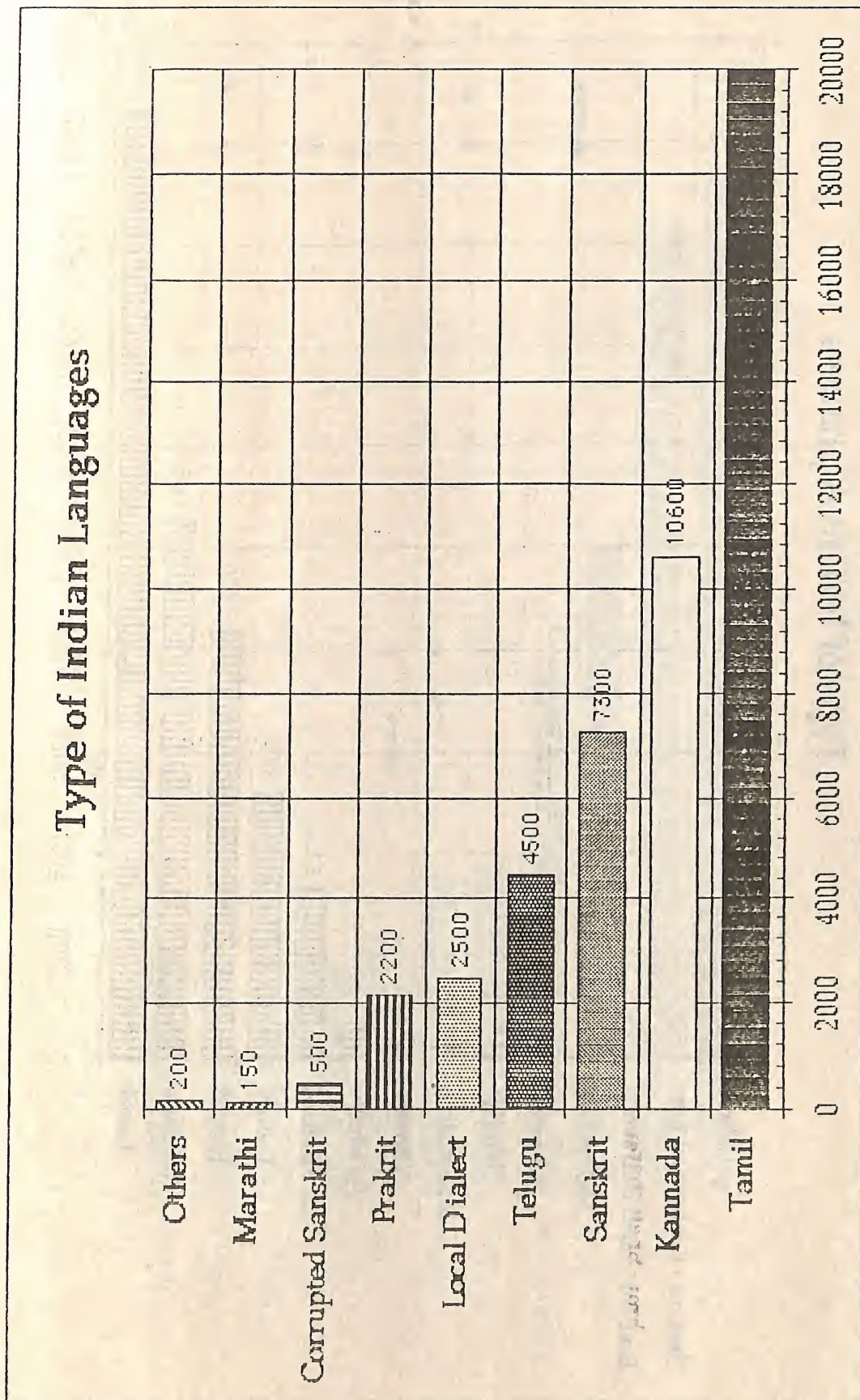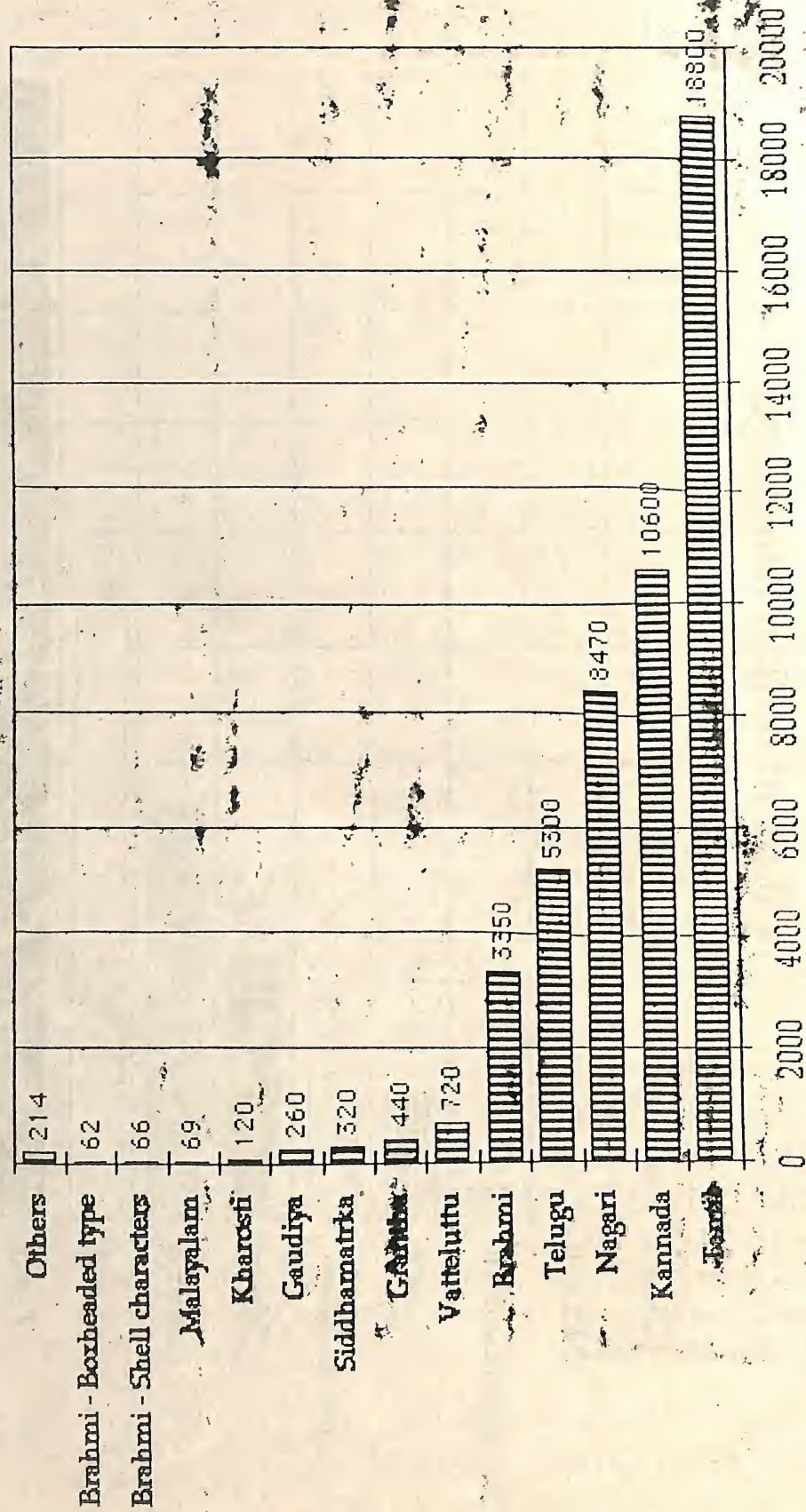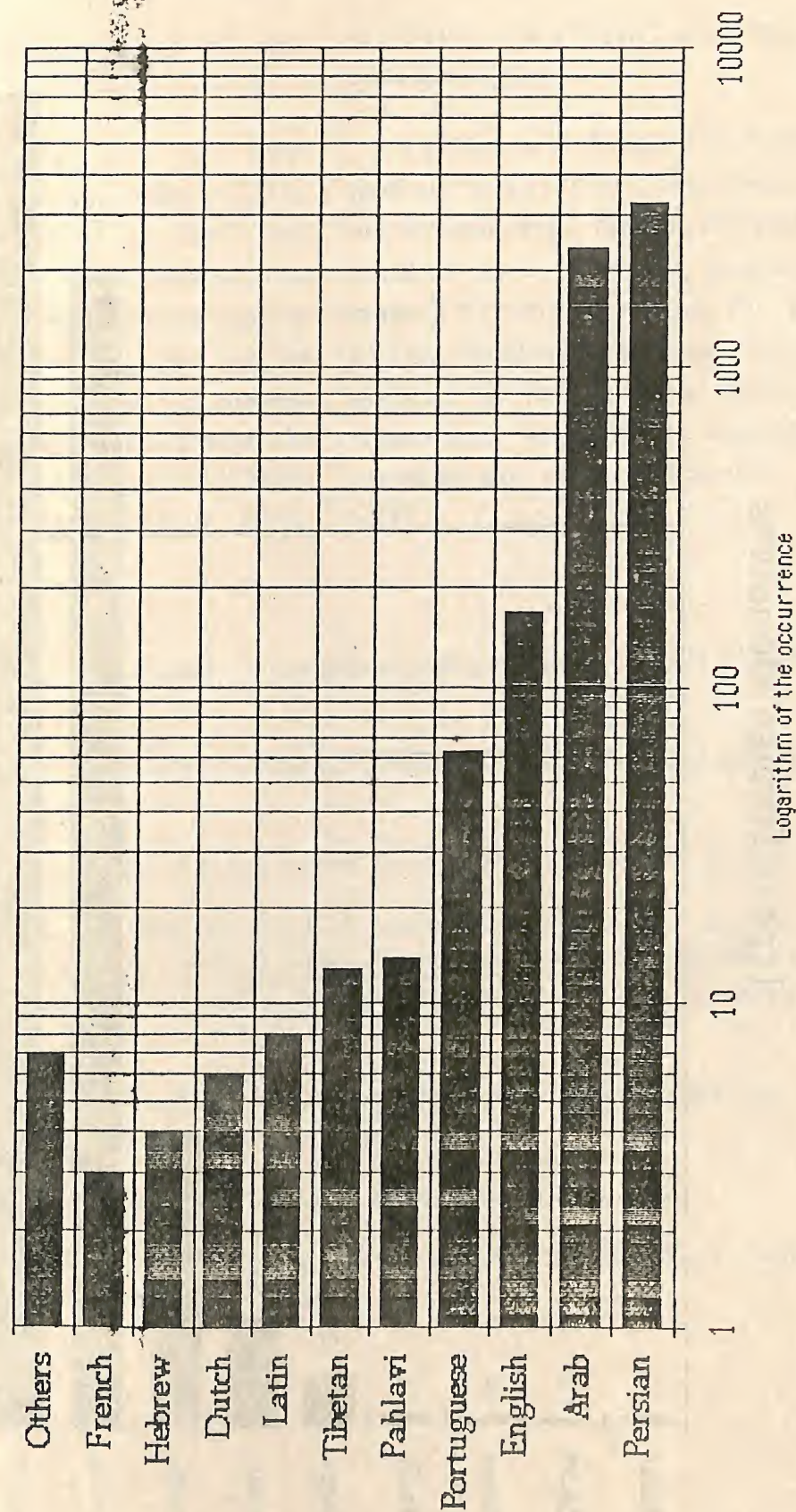
Type of Indian Languages

Language	Count
Others	200
Marathi	150
Corrupted Sanskrit	500
Prakrit	2200
Local Dialect	2500
Telugu	4500
Sanskrit	7300
Kannada	10600
Tamil	

Fig. 4

Type of Indian Alphabets

Type	Value
Others	214
Brahmi - Boxheaded type	62
Brahmi - Shell characters	66
Malayalam	69
Kharosti	120
Gaudiya	260
Siddhamatrka	320
Grantha	440
Vatteluttu	720
Brahmi	3350
Telugu	5300
Nagari	8470
Kannada	10600
Tamil	18800

Fig. 5

Foreign Languages

Logarithm of the occurrence

Fig. 6

Type of Foreign Alphabets

Fig. 7

the capacity of management for different types of data.

In conclusion (Slide No. 3), once the basic information are collected, the methodological problems analized and such as information system created, one can begin a project on software system and develop it. At this stage the project phase will be completed, and the system will be activated, in which we foresee the following 4-step layout: SYSTEM TESTING, SYSTEM INSTALLATION, PERSONNEL TRAINING and the WORKING SYSTEM.

At the end of this presentation, my personal wish is that these preliminary remarks can urge Indian institutions and scholars to a very big project. Once started it would permit the protection of that invaluable treasure which is constituted by Indian inscriptions. In this connection, any further suggestions and remarks are most welcomed. THANK YOU.

References :

1. According to some eminent scholars, the inscriptions noted in the A.R.I.E. would amount only to 50% of the total.

2. Cf. S.K. Havanur, *"Analysis of inscriptional data through computer"* Journal of Epigraphical Society of India, XIV, 1987, p.50.

3. The first counting gave a total of 57,292, a second few days later gave the figure of 57,580.

4. Whatever can be, I strongly doubt that the total amount of inscriptions can overcome 100,000 specimens, and still my opinion will be incorrect, the enormous difference between the supposed numerical value and that really counted (yet only partially) should stir up however the scholar to a deepest test of such matter.

5. It does not mean that we do not come across epigraphical remains using more than one script against only one language, except for their frequencyis more rare.

6. It was assigned to a Delhi based firm, Computer, on December 10, 1991

7. Technical term, whose meaning is 'ploughing oxes', because of its peculiar direction, which seems that a pair of oxes follows in ploughing.

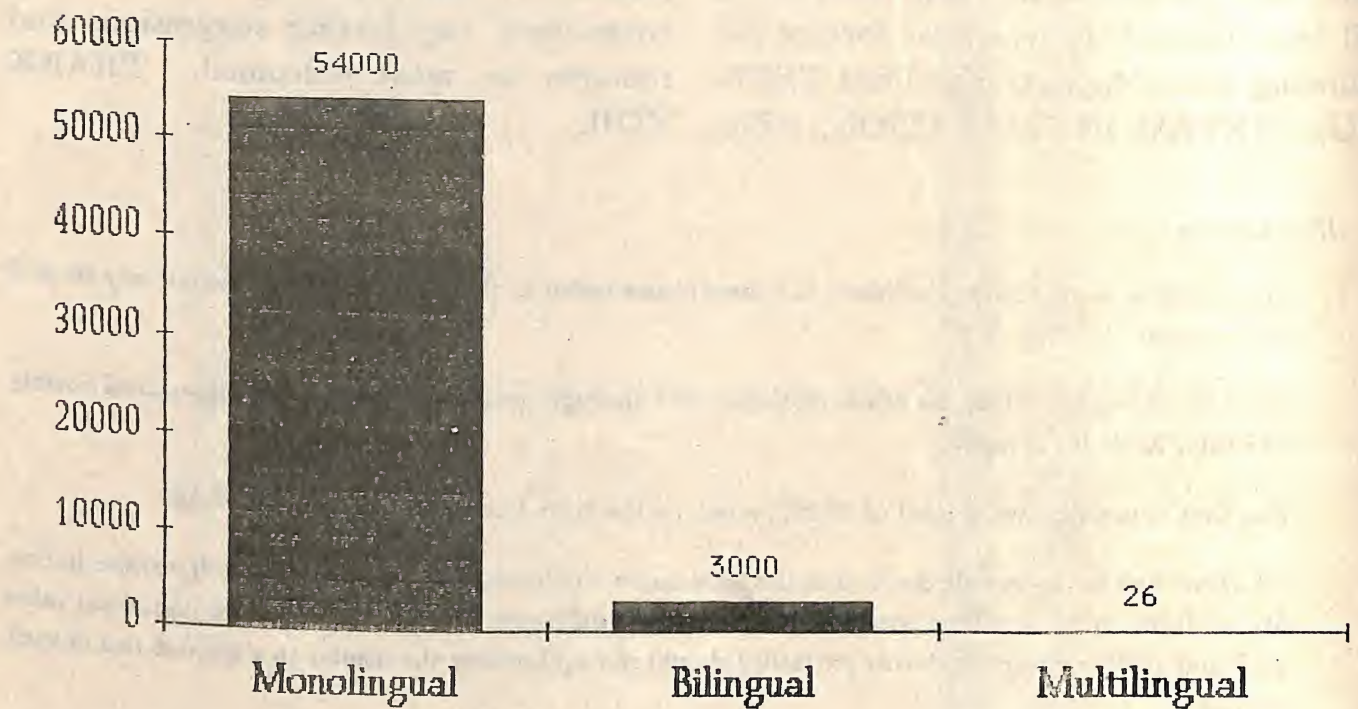## Type of Inscriptions by Number of Languages

Fig. 1

Type of Inscriptions by Number of Alphabets

Fig. 2

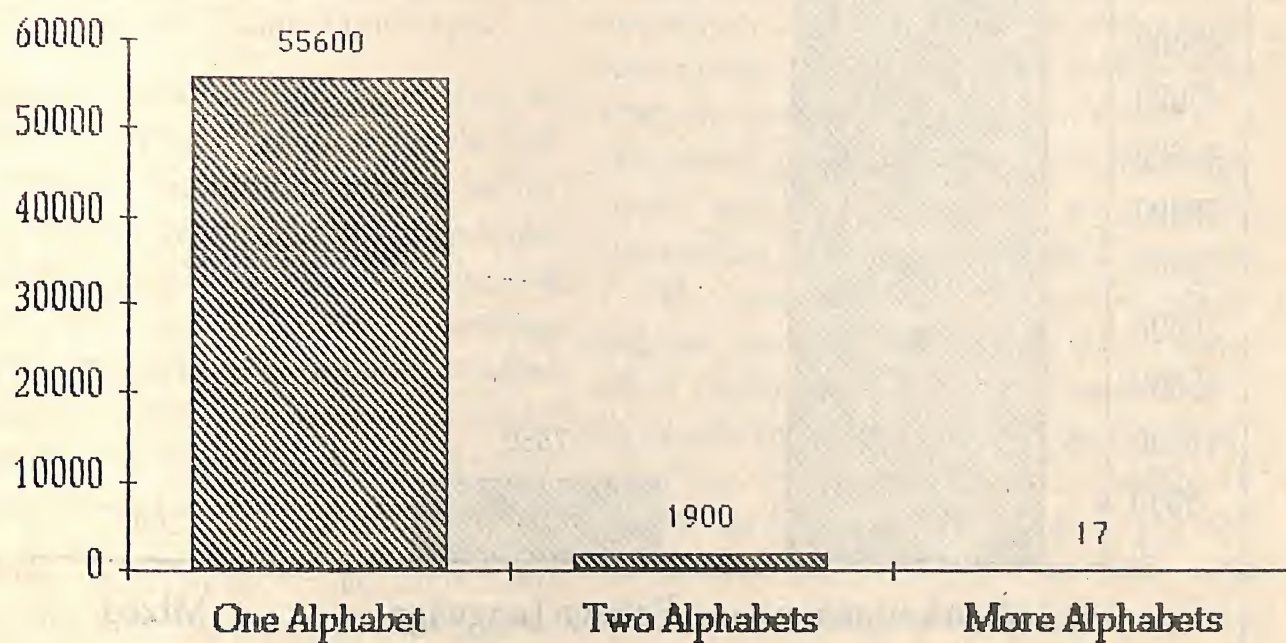## Type of Languages

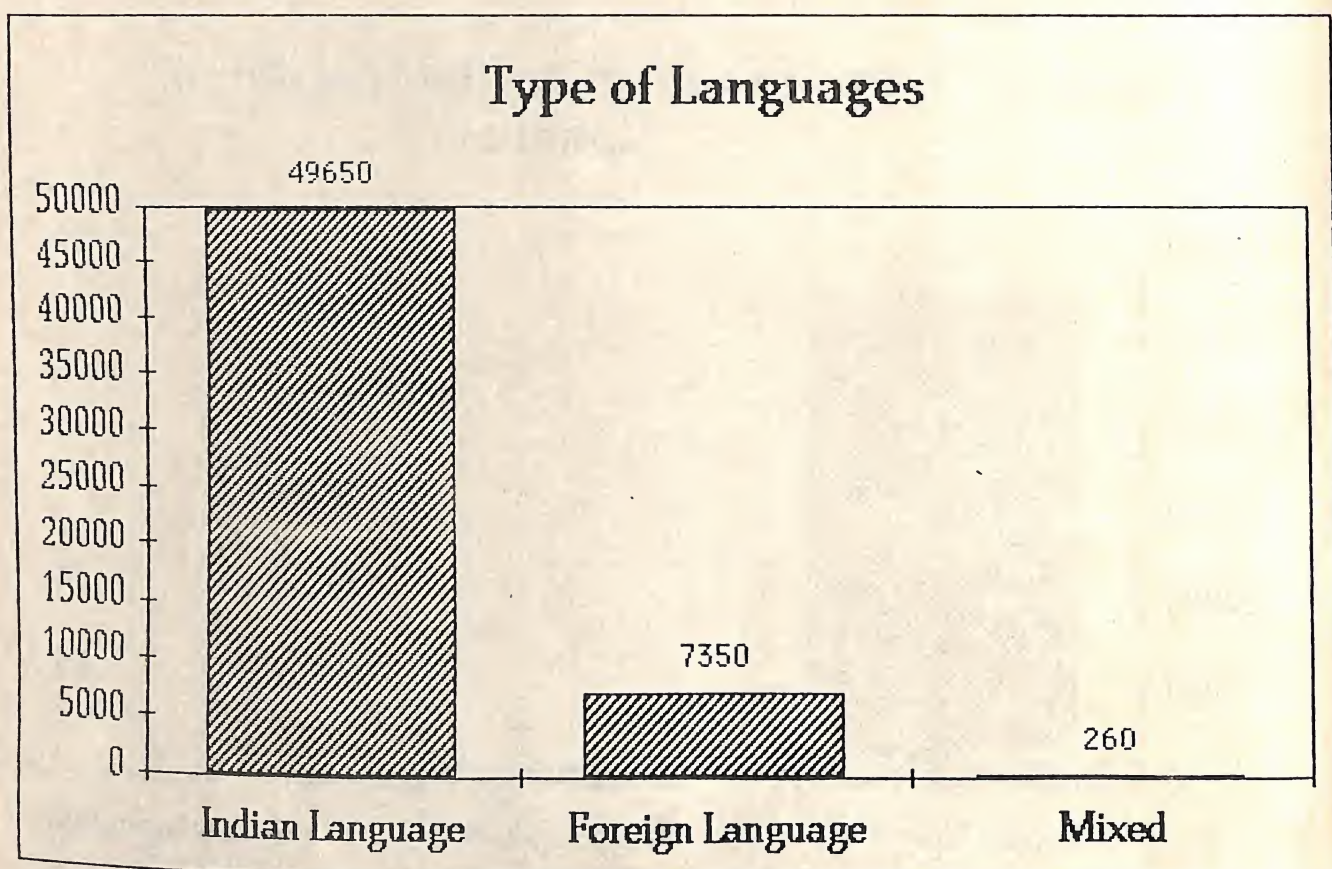| Value |
|-------|
| 49650 |
| 7350 |
| 260 |

Fig. 3

than 1% (26 specimens) to the multilingual type (fig. 1).

Along with the previous classification, a second broad division was applied on the basis of number of alphabets used in a single text. The result expressed in the bar graph of fig. 2, broadly follow the same layout of the previous subdivision. However it is worth to highlight a few minor differences: the texts using only one alphabet reach a higher percentage (96.25%) than the monolingual type.

Already at this stage, some general conclusions can be drawn from this first classification. The predominance in the Indian Subcontinent of the oral communication over the written one emerges with salient evidence, the higher percentage of texts using only one alphabet against monolingual type, evidences a tendency towards the use of a single script in order to transcribe more than one language.[5]

Always pertaining to the same kind of classification, a further division can be drawn between texts using 'Indian languages' and those using 'foreign' ones (fig. 3). Here 'Indian languages' means the speeches originated inside the Indian paeninsula, while by the appellation 'foreign' we mean the languages originated outside India, whatsoever diffusion these witnessed in the subcontinent. Here we have the numerical values: out of 58,000 inscriptions, 48,0000 (equal to 82.75%) use 'Indian' languages, while specimens written in 'foreign' languages constitute less than 12% (about 7,000 specimens) and the remaining part concerns the 'mixed languages', in the sense of one (or more) 'Indian' along with one (or more) 'foreign'.

A further subdivision is to be made within the 'Indian languages' themselves in order to emphasize the diffusion and propagation of each one (Fig. 4). However, before starting with their analytical description, let me make a short digression about one of the most conspicuous obstacle put on the resercher's way, i.e. the correct definition of a single language. As far as this problem is concerned, without getting involved in linguistic aspects, I will quote only few examples regarding how the inscriptional texts are noted when underthed. In the *Annual Reports* 35 specimens labelled as written in Hindi language are quoted; it can be safely assumed for the text belonging to the second half of XIX century onwards, while we can not be so sure regarding such an appellation in case the text is anterior to this date, being involved in the same time, yet only potentially languages like *Khariboli, Avadhi, Braj* , etc., Moreover, over 2,000 specimens bear the label 'local dialect', while only one specimen was found labelled as 'Maithili', so that it is not difficult to guess the incongruity derived from matching a very broad definition like the first one with another extreemely specific like the last one. In addition to this,

the ambiguity of such terms as 'corrupted Sanskrit', 'Sanskrit mixed with Prakrit', 'Sanskrit mixed with local dialect', 'corrupted Kannada' and so on can be noted. Therefore it becomes extremely tough to distinguish as well as to fix precisely the limits of the above mentioned denominations, besides the unavoidable doubts regarding the real relationship between each broad and specific definition, as seen above. This controversial issue, as for the data feeding process, should be standardized in advance on the basis of an absolutely uniform level of entries, otherwise we will face the serious risk of duplication of same specimens infinite numbers of times and to be more specific as many times as these are defined.

It is time now to turn back our attention on the mentioned graph (Fig. 5.). We can suddenly notice a clear preponderance of southern languages, while the most frequent among the Indoeuropean ones seems to be Sanskrit. As we can infere by browsing the table illustrating 'Indian bilingual type' (pl. 1), Sanskrit is the most used Indian language for what concerns bilingual texts. In such a way, it is corroborated the opinion according to which Sanskrit should be considered the Indian culture representative *par exellence*, yet it gets only the third rank amongst the more used inscriptional languages.

While dealing with the last subdivision, I payed attention also to the 'foreign' languages used as inscriptional medium (Fig. 6). In such a case, the hegemony of Islamic culture is incontestable, once compared with the European languages, as emphasized by numerical values. It happens obviously only because of historical antiquity belonging to the inscriptional medium.

The same classifying procedure has been applied to the scripts, starting with the 'Indian' one (Fig. 5). Here we have to face same classification problems, as already seen for the languages. First of all, it is difficult to distinguish between the various stages of *Brahmi* or *Nagari* scriptual developments. It depends basically upon the palaeographic knowledge of the description's author. Very often it occurs that two different reports about the same inscriptional text, label with a different name the alphabet used. Uniformity of data is required also in this case, but we are still far from a fair level of coherence in face of the variety of scriptory classifications suggested by scholars in the past for the main palaeographical works, such as those by H. Buhler, R.B. Pandey, G.S. Ojha and A.H. Dani. Usually, the differences in labelling epigraphical remains depend upon the palaeographical standards of reference of each scholar. The presence of various labelling-system will cause discrepancies of classification and a certain amount of inscriptions require additional work, that is to say to conform all the scripts 'denominations' to a few simpler names. Inside each and every appellation

the various styles of writing belonging to a particular script could be successively distinguished.

So far as the 'foreign' alphabets are concerned (Fig. 7), we can note the lesser seriousness of such a problem, because of the already standardized types of denomination adopted for *Kufic, Naskh* and *Nastaliq* script.

A first effort in classifying the epigraphical data was made on a small amount (less than 2,00000 specimens)0 of copper-plate inscriptions using a *Db III Plus softward programme*.[6] These specimens were already collected and arranged according the dynasties by G.S. Gai in his *"Dynastic List of Copper plate Inscriptions"*, which deals with all inscriptions noticed from 1887 to 1969 by the *Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy*, Due to a lack of time, I could add only few entries in the dBase listing of copper plates pulbished in the remaining issues of *A.R.I.E., Indian Antiquary, Studies in Indian Epigraphy, Journal of Epigraphical Society of India, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum and Indian Historical Quarterly,* not recorded in the Annual Reports. By taking advantage of storage system of this programme, I attempted to point out another important aspect of the Indian inscriptional corpus: their present location in various collections across the country (Fig. 8). As it can bee infeered from this small sample, in the Southern regions (Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh,

Kerala and Tamil Nadu)) the major part of listed material is preserved, while some rare specimens are abroad. It is obvious that here location means the actual deposit of remains, not the findspot, which can be listed through same device.

A more particular attention payed to the location (Fig. 9) testifies the distribution of specimens within the Indian Subcontinent. It can be pointed that small numerical values find their justification in the rarity of specimens recorded (less than 3% out of total). In every respect, it emphasizes the value of a total survey of all the epigraphical materials for the sake of their adequate study.

We can star not (side No. 5) to outline the main characteristics belonging to the data base, that is to say the first transitional step has to be built during the abstraction process that will allow an epigraphical specimen to be transformed into a data sequence feasible to computer-based management systems. In order to get a complete spectrum of each and every inscriptional remain, the data sequence should provide the following informations:

1.   EXTRINSIC INFORMATION, which include the findspot, deposit, property, outline of chief events since its discovery, condition, material, petroglyphic's design (if any);

2. INTRINSIC INFORMATION, i.e., all data pertaining to the text as the lan-

guage and script used, dating, abbreviations, punctuation-marks;

3. INSCRIPTION IMAGERY, reproduced from the digitalization of a photograph or drawn reproduction;

4. ORIGINAL TEXT & ALPHABET, whereas the digital image can be supported also by the creation of some more standardized font in order to get a clear reading and print of whatever inscription;

5. TEXT TRANSLITERATION in Latin script, in order to allow on easier approach, understanding and research to the scholars from different disciplines as well;

6. TEXT TRANSLATION, to enable whosoever scholar to get useful informations from inscriptional witness;

7. KEY-WORDS & TOPICS, which will enable all kind of listing for all different purposes inside historical, economical, regious, philosophical and social context;

8. BIBLIOGRAPHY, whose references should be grouped according to several levels, to distinguish among primary sources, secondary ones, critical essay, etc.

Beside this procedure (Slide No. 8) that will meet all the methodological problems mentioned above, there will be the other one of providing the software system with the following characteristics:

1. TEXT MANAGEMENT, that is to say the possibility to manage extremely eterogeneous texts in length and format. Regarding the last aspect, many fonts shall havee been created anew, in order to contain the standard version of some script. Moreover, this will allow the possibility of reproducing texts written from left to right, the opposite direction, from top to the bottom and in bustrophedicon writing as well;[7]

2. MANAGEMENT & ENHANCEMENT OF IMAGES, i.e., the retrieving capacity of images along with the text, provided by special techniques and devices for the sake of memory place gain, through a shrinking-process;

3. THEE DICTIONARY, which means check dictionaries management in order to assure a standardized input of all informations;

4. THE THESAURUS, with the precise scope to manage synonim's and unknown meaning word's list;

5. A FRIENDLY-QUERY LANGUAGE, an easy accessibility and information retrieving on all documentary level, together with FRIENDLY USER INTERFACE and FONTS MANAGEMENT, strictly linked to the previous, which permit whatsoever query concerning all the fonts at our disposal;

6. MODULARITY, that is to say a more flexible input/output procedure and

INSCRIPTIONS	i	ii	iii	iv	v
1. URLAM PLATES OF INDRAVARMAN, G.E.80	(80)	(0)	(8)		
2. CHICACOL PLATES OF INDRAVARMAN, G.E.128	(100)	(20)	(8)	(10)	(5)
3. PURLE PLATES OF INDRAVARMAN, G.E. 137	(100)	(3)	(7)	(20)	
4. TEKKALI PLATES OF INDRAVARMAN, G.E.154	(100)	(5)	(4)		
5. CHICACOL PLATES OF DEVENDRAVARMAN, G.E.183	(100)	(8)	(3)	(2)	(0)
6. DHARMALINGESWAR PLATES OF DEVENDRAVARMAN, G.E. 184	(100)	(8)	(4)		
7. PHERAVA PLATES OF SVETAKA SAMANTAVARMAN, (G.E.) 185	(100)	(8)	(5)	(30)	
8. TRILINGI PLATES OF DEVENDRAVARMAN, G.E.192	(100)	(9)	(2)	(3)	(0)
9. SIDDHANTAM PLATES OF DEVENDRAVARMAN, G.E.195	(1)	(9)	(5)		
10. SUDEVA PLATES OF DEVENDRAVARMAN, G.E.204	(2)	(0)	(4)		

Fig. I

INSCRIPTIONS	i	ii	iii	iv	v
1. CHANDESWAR PLATES OF DHARMARAJA, R.Y. 18	(10)	(0)	(8)		
2. PANDIAPATHAR PLATES OF BHIMASENA, (B.E.)89	(8)	(9)			
3. BADAKHEMUNDI PLATES OF JAYAVARMAN, (B.E.) 100	(1)	(0)	(0)		
4. TERUNDIA PLATE OF SUBHĀKARA, B.E. 100	(100)	(0)			
5. HINDOL PLATE OF SUBHĀKARA, B.E. 103	(100)	(0)	(3)	(7)	
6. BAMANAGHATI PLATE OF RAṆABHAÑJA, (B.E.)188	(100)	(80)	(8)	(7)	
7. UKHUNDA PLATE OF PṚTHVĪBHAÑJA	(1)	(0)			
8. ORISSA MUSEUM PLATES OF NARENDRADHAVALA, (B.E.)189	(100)	(80)	(9)	(1)	(2)
9. DASAPALLA & GANJAM PLATES OF SATRUBHAÑJA, (B.E.)196	(1)	(9)	(8)		
10. A GRANT OF VAKULAMAHĀ-DEVĪ, B.E. 204	(200)	(0)	(4)	(5)	

Fig.II

7.   SOFTWARE DEVELOPMENT IN EPIGRAPHY: SOME PRELIMINARY REMARKS

Riccardo Garbini

Nākarishyad-yadi Brahmā
>>*likhitaṁ chakshur-uttamam.*
Tatr-ēyam-asya lōkasya
>>*nābhavishyach-chhubhā gatiḥ*

As part of a joint Indo-Italian project to develop a National Inventory of Indian archaeological monuments, a preliminary evaluation of ancient Indian epigraphycal material, is currently ongoing to establish its feasability through a definition of both technical and methodological problems involved. In addition, it is being attempted to evaluate the consistency of the Corpus across its variability, by listing the published material according to the main epigraphical and palaeographical characters. Quantitative definition of groups of eminence will allow immediate identification of critical factors of variability in historical perspective.

Thanks are due to K.V. Ramesh, G.S. Gai, B.N. Mukherjee, S.P. Tewari and S.J. Mangalam, for the useful suggestions they generouslly provided and helped me by sharing the interest in the development of the project. During the subsequent process of scanning through the first data layout, some basic methodological problems have risen, of the kind often faced by specialists who have attempted to arrange any large corpus of diversified epigraph-ical material within a template of rigid parameters. In order to avoid the pitfalls of a vulgare quantitative approach the corpus has been examined by Dr. Luka Bondioli, head of IsMEO Data Treatment Centre, who will also design the software specifics for the Indian epigraphical Corpus. Thanks are due to Dr. Bondioli for the supplement of his notes which are added to my work.

The aim of this paper is to point out the main problems and inconsistencies met into the basic bibliography and it is based on plain description of epigraphical specimens.

The bibliography consulted is mainly derived from the *Annual Reports of Indian Epigraphy* (ARIE), though these publications do not cover the whole amount of inscriptions discovered till the present[1]. In order to expand the information provided by ARIE, to incorporate all the Indian inscriptions, I have also consulted both monographic works concerning new inscriptional sources, as well as the critical editions of the epigraphical texts. Among such noteworthy publications, I would like to mention as main source materials the *South Indian Inscriptions, Epigraphia Indica, Epigraphia Carnatica, Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India, Corpus Inscrip-*

tionum Indicarum, Studies in Indian Epigraphy.

Along with these, I have checked those periodicals which despite basically belonging to historical or cultural disciplines, included sometimes critical essays on inscriptional specimens as well: *Indian Antiquary, Indian Historical Quarterly, Bulletin of Deccan College, Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology in Uttar Pradesh, Prācijyoti, Journal of Summer Research Society, Journal of Karnataka University, Journal of Madhya Pradesh Itihas Parishad, Prācya Pratibhā, Journal of Oriental Institute, Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society, The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Journal of the Asiatic Society, Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Journal of the Maharaja Sayyajirao University of Baroda, Journal of Haryana Studies, Bharatiya Vidya, Nagpur University Journal are some of the sources of my information.*

All other publications available were not examined either for lack of time or lack of knowledge on my part of all Indian languages beside Hindi.

Moreover, the survey has not included other inscribed material, such as seals and sealings, whose recurrence is however frequent in various inscriptions' lists, as well as inscribed coins, since these materials belong to Sphragistics and Numismatics, respectively.

Unfortunately, almost all the publications examined are absolutely independent of each other and so that the scholar in approaching an essay cannot be completely sure whether the references given cover the whole range of earlier works on a given topic.

It is easy to foresee that to a good extent the presented data should be taken as incomplete. However, these preliminary characters does not invalidate the recognition of some basic aspects of Indian inscriptions. First of all, we establish the total quantity of inscriptions. According to the Indian leading specialists, the total amount of inscriptions understood as texts should fall between 120,000 and 180,000 specimens[2], whereas after reckoning twice through the bibliographic references the number remaines below 58,000 texts.[3] Even if this counting is incomplete, it would be hard to believe that through the bibliography I missed such a large number of items.[4]

Subsequently, I have tried to identify the linguistical and palaeografical layout of the inscriptions, in reference to the languages and alphabets used. A first operational division was made between monolingual inscriptions and those represented by more than one language. The graph shows that a very high precentage (=93.75%) belongs to the monolingual type, while the second group reaches a mere 6.25%, mainly constituted by bilingual specimens (around 3000), leaving less

dha found at Mankuwar (Allahabad district, U.P.).[15] It is dated in the Gupta year 129 or A.D. 448-49.[16] The date is expressed by numerical symbols.[17] (fig. 3), to be deciphered as 100(+)20(+)9.[18] But the symbol for the year "100" (fig. 4) does not have here one of its well-known contemporary forms[19] (see fig. 5 for one of the forms having similarity with the figure in question). It is drawn in a manner which suggest the inclusion within it the figure for "20" (fig. 6) or "zero"(0) Again, the symbol for "9" is seen connected by a carved line with that for "20" (fig. 6).[20] These departures from the norm may perhaps betray the engraver's or the original writers attempts to transform the knowledge of decimal notation into practice (pl. II).

However, the regular use of the decimal system (with the help of the figures for 1 to 9 and zero) was not known to Āryabhaṭa (I) (b. A.D. 476), the famous mathematician and astronomer and the author of the *Āryabhaṭīya* (A.D. 499).[21] Hence the system in question did not probably gain ground till the late 5th century A.D. This inference holds good even after conceding that the concept of Zero might have been known in India from a much earlier age.[22]

On the other hand there are the well-known instances of the use of decimal notation (expressing "zero" by a dot or a circle) in a few inscriptions in South-East Asia dated in the early 7th century of the Śaka Era (Śaka years 605, 606 and 608).[23] These instances allude to the import of the system form India, where the Śaka Era as well as the script used in the epigraphs concerned, originated.[24]

In that case the use of decimal notation should have gained some popularity in India before (605+A.D. 78 =) A.D. 683. This inference tallies well with our above interpretation of the year in one of the Asrafpur inscriptions (73 + A.D. 606 = A.D. 679).

The decimal notation was known to Varāhamihira,[25] dated to c. early 6th century A.D.[26] The *Vāsavadattā* of Subandhu, which was well-known by the early 7th century A.D.,[27] refers to "zero" as *śunyavindu*[28] ("the void expressed by a dot").

The upshot of the discussion in that the first experiments for using decimal notations (using *inter alia* a circle or a dot for "zero") were initiated in early 5th century A.D. By sometime of 6th or 7th century A.D. the system gained some ground.[29] It became popular in various parts of the subcontinent by the 9th century A.D.[30]

References :

1.   G. Bühler, *Indian Palaeography* (edited and translated by J.F. Fleet), reprinted in the *Indian Studies: Past and Present*, vol. 1, no. 1, Calcutta, 1959, p. 102.

2.   V.V. Mirashi, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. IV, *Inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chedi Era*, pt. I, Ootacamund, 1955, pp. 161-164.

3.   *Journal of the Gangadhar Jha Institute*, vol. VI, pp. 306f.

4.   V.V. Mirashi, *op.cit.* p. 162.

5.   See above n. 3.

6.   V.V. Mirahsi, *op.cit.* p. 162, n. 4.

7.   *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIV, p. 351; V.V. Mirashi, *op.cit.*, p. 162. The dates of some inscriptions from Gujarat, noted in the 4th or early 5th century of the Gupta Era, are recorded in decimal figures in the printed texts or notice (*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* vo. VII, p. 968; *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle*, 1915-16, p. 55; D.R. Bhandarkar, *A List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, nos. 1357 and 1361). But these cannot be varified for want facsimilies. Moreover, as V.V. Mirashi has pointed, in several inscriptions from the same area and dated in the later years of the Gupta Era, the dates are expressed in numerical symbols and not in decimal figures (V.V. Mirashi, *op.cit.*, pt. I, p. 162, f.n. 3)

8.   *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bental*, (cited below as MASB), Vol. I, p. 85.

9.   R.C. Majumdar, *Ancient History of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1971, pp. 78-79.

10.   *MASB*, vol. I, p. 91. The two inscriptions of Devakhaḍga, found at Asrafpur, are claimed to carry the date year 10(+)3 (*ibid.*, pp. 90-91). However, since the facsimile of only one of them has been printed in *MASB*, vol. I, we are constrained to confine our observation to this inscription only.

11.   *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Letters, vol. IV, 1938, no. 3, p. 389.

12.   *Ibid.*,

13.   D.C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, Delhi, 1965, p. 296.

14.   *MASB*, p. 91 and pl. VII.

15.   D.R. Bhandarkar (revisor), *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. III *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings*, New Delhi, 1981, p. 291.

16.   *Ibid.*, 292-293.

17.   *Ibid.* pl. XXV.

18.   *Ibid.*, p[. 293.

19.   S.L. Gokhale, *Indian Numerals*, Poona, 1966, p. 19.

20.   D.R. Bhandarkar, *op.cit.*, pl. XXV.

21.   M. Winternitz, A concise *History of Indian Literature*, vol. III, pt. II (translated by S. Jha), Delhi, 1967 p. 649, D.M. Bose, S.N. Sen and B.V. Subarayappa (editors), New Delhi, 1971, pp. 51; *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, vol. IV, pts. 1-2, p. 100. It should however, be noted that Āryabhaṭa's alphabetical system of expressing numbers with the help of consonants and vowels was based "on the decimal place-value principle" (Āryabhaṭīya, Gotikā pāda), 1f; D.M. Bose and others, *op.cit.*, p. 174).

22.   For an example we may refer to the *Chanda-sūtra* of Piṅgala (see also D.M. Bose and others, *op.cit.*, p. 175)

23.   Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, vol. VI, pp. 323 f; D.M. Bose, S.N. Sen and B.V. Subbarayappa, *op.cit.*, p. 178.

24.   *Ibid.*, This evidence suggests the Indian and not Chinese inscription behind the introduction of decimal notation in S.E. Asia.

25.   *Pañchasiddhāntikā*, 1;8; 8, 1; 18, 33.

26.   M. Winternitz, *op.cit.* p. 646; R.C. Majumdar, (editor), *Classical Age*, Bombay, 1954, p. 321.

27.   R.C. Majumdar, *classical Age*, p. 316.

28.   *Vāsavadattā* (edited by F.E. Hall), p. 182.

29.   The Bakhshali manuscript, which uses decimal notation, should be palaeographically dated to c. 8th-9th century A.D. (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, p. 36; D.B. Pandey, *The Shāhis of Afghanistan and the Punjab*, Delhi, 1973, pp. 137 f) and not to any earlier age.
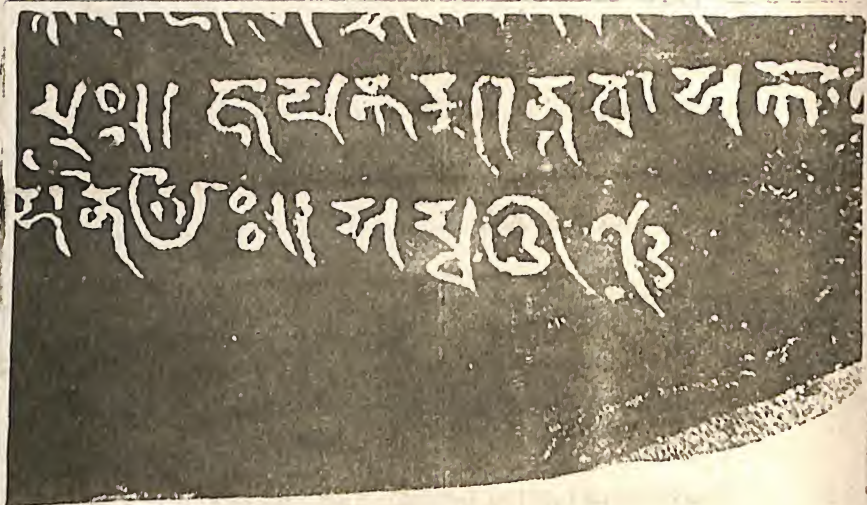
30.   See above n. 1.

Fig - 1 ᲗᲗ

Fig - 5 ᲗᲗ
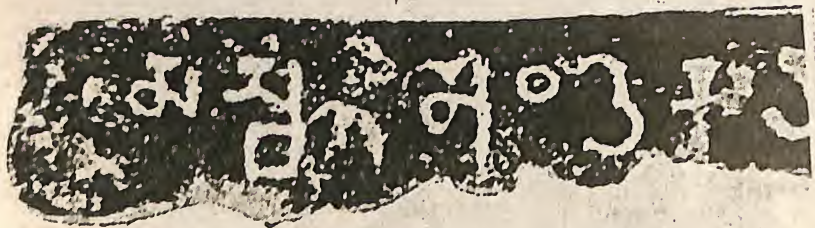
Fig - 2

Fig - 6 ⊙, ⊖

Fig - 3

Fig - 4

Pl I.

PL. II

9. CHYALI COPPER PLATE OF KING DIPA CHANDRA

Vidyadhar S. Negi

Provenance :

The copper plate under study was discovered at village Chyālī, Patti-Aṭhāguli, Tehsil-Ranikhat, District-Almora in the Kumāun hills of Uttar Pradesh.[1]

Language and Script :

The language of the charter is "Kumāunī". However some Sanskrit and a few Persian words have also been used. The script of the charter is "Nāgarī".

Orthography :

The copper plate under study is engraved only on one side. It contains total 40 lines, i.e. 22 lines on the main face, followed by two lines on the top right marginal side, which are subsequently followed by 14 lines engraved on the left marginal side. Some orthographic peculiarities are noteworthy, which are as follows:

(i)   There is class resemblance between 'cha', 'ja' and 'va'; 'i' and 'hi' ; 'ra' and 'ṭa'; and 'dha' and 'gha'

(ii)   'ya' and 'va' are distinguished from 'ja' and 'ba' respectively by a circle, which is put below the curved part of the letter concerned.

(iii) Letter *sha* has been invariably substituted for *kha*, the letter *kha* has not been used at all.

(iv)   Sometime there is a little difference between 'ṭa' and 'ṭha'

(v)   'va' is invariably used for 'ba'.

(vi)   Vowel 'i' is shown by adding medial 'i' sign to the initial 'i'.

(vii) Distinction among the letters 'ba' & 'va'; 'ṭa' & 'ṭha'; 'kha' & 'sha' etc. can be traced on the basis of the contents of the inscription.

(viii) Punctuation marks have not been used.

(ix)   Grammatical and orthographical mistakes are frequent.

Date and Issuer of the Plate :

The charter has been issued on the 9th. day of the dark half of the month 'Jesṭa' (Jyestha) in Śaka era 1669, corresponding to Saturday 20th. June 1747 A.D.[2] It was issued by *Mahārājādhirja Srī Rājā Dīpa Dīpa Chandra Dēva* (Śaka 1669-1699);[3] belonging to the local ruling dynasty known as "Chandra" in favour of *Samēr Adhīkārī*.

Historical Importance:

The copper plate under study throws new light on the history of the Chandra Kings of Kumāun, especially, at the time of Rōhilā[4] attack. The Rōhilā invasion on Kumāun took place in 1743-44.[5] The iconoclastic activities of Rōhilās resulted in large scale destruction of temples and sculptures.[6] It is said that at that time the Marāṭhās and later Mughals were struggling hard for their political supremacy. Therefore the Rōhilās wanted to colonise Kumāun to make it a permenent place of refuge, in the event of their being driven away from Rōhilakhand.[7] It is also notworthy in this connection that the Rōhilā Chief, Ali Mohammad Khān, wanted to avenge the death of his patron Dāud Khān, who was earlier murdered by Kumāunī king [8] Dēbī Chandra (1720-26), predecessor of king Kalyan Chandra. Soon he (Alī Mohammad Khān) found an oportunity when the oppresive rule of king Kalyāṇ Chandra (Dīpa) Chandra's father) many influential Kumāunīs fled from Kamāun. One such person was Himmat Gosa in who took refuge in the camp of Alī Mohammed Khān, where the former was murdered along with his family by the assassins, sent by king Kalyāṇ Chandra. The Rōhilā Chief Alī Mohammed Khān was enranged at the murder of his guest in his own camp. Thus in 1743-44 A.D. he sent a force of ten thousand men under the command of Hāfiz Rahamat Khān, Paidē khan and Bakshi Sirdār Khān, to punish the Kumāunī King.[9]. With this intention the Rōhilās invaded Kumāun and occupied the entire region.

It is during this period that the donee of this charter (under study) Samēr Adhikārī played a gallant role. He saved the life of his maser (Kumāunī king) and his (king's) family from the Rōhilās. He also played an important role in liberating his country from the yoke of Rōhilās and driving them out of Kumāun.

The Rōhilās invasion and its repulsion has not been properly reported by the scholars.[10] There is a strong belief that Shibadēva Jōshī of Jhijāṛ (Prime Minister of Chandras) was the hero of the Rōhilā defeat.[11] However we have reasons to believe that apart from Shibadēva Jōshī, other Kumāunīs also played an equally important, if not greater, role. These Kumāunīs hailed from different parts of Kumāun. Thus from Champāwat region it was Anup singa Taṛāgī,[12] and from Ranikhat region it was in the fitness of things the kings of Chandra dynasty acknowledged the services of these Kumāunīs by giving land grants called 'Rōta'[14] which is the highest reward in the Chandra kingdom.

The charter under study gives a vivid description of the events related to the Rohila attack. It informs us as to how Samēr Adhikārī saved the King, [15] while the later was fleeing to Gaṛhwāl to take

refuge there.[16] Samēra Adhikārī not only served the king as porter but he also played a role of a diplomat as well. [17] Thus on the one hand he negotiated with the Garhwāl king for the safety of his master and on the other hand he created dissension among the Rōhilā commanders, by establishing friendship with one of them viz. Paidē Khān.[18]

Samēra Adhikārī also rendered invaluable service to Kumāunī king i.e Kalyāṇ Chandra by liquidating Bijī Rautēlā who wanted to usurp the Chandra throne. For this very cause he (Bijī Rautēlā) went to Garhwāl presumably to seek support of the Garhwāl king. Samēra Adhikārī got him captured and later executed him.[19]

In this connection it is to be noted that Atkinson has recorded that king Kalyāṇ Chandra sent an envoy to Delhi to complain against the Rohila aggression. However the name of the envoy has not been mentioned by him.[20] The plate under reference clearly informs that this envoy was Samēra Adhikārī.[21] He went to Mughal court and through his diplomatic manoeuvers got the matter was settled finally by paying only Rs. 2 Lakhs as against the promissed sum of Rs. 21 Lakhs. This he managed with the help of Firāsta Khān Khōjā.[22]

TEXT

On top of the plate :

i. Śrī Va(Ba) ḍārājājyu

ii. , Dagger mark. ,

On the main face :

L. 1. Mahārjādhīrāja Śrī Rājā Dīpa Chamdra Dēva jyu lē tamāpatra karī dīnu

L. 2. Samēra Adhikārī Jogya V(B)ōksāḍa kā paraganā mai mau Amṛitapura v(b)aga

L. 3. Sō yē gāu lagītō dhurā damdā sudā v(b)agasō Samēra lē Ghēti v(b)ati puṭhā mai v(b)ōkī

L. 4. haman mē mai Tumgēśvara lī gayō pachhā Rōhilō paḍī rachhou Gaḍhavāla samga saluka ka

L. 5. rō Alamōḍā Rōhilō kō Chhēdabhēda karī Rōhilō bhajāyō Paidē Shāna(Khāna) samga mīlāpa ka

L. 6. rāyō Bijī Rautēlā rajā hunā sum Gaḍha gachhyo bamda karī Bijī marāyō ghātā mai Rōhī

L 7. lō marāyō 000 (Śrī Badārājājyu) salā dī pātasāhī sum mīlakayō najara kō sāja

jōḍō yaikaisa lāsha(kha)

L 8.   Māla kālēshā(khā) pātashī dīnu kar chhyo duī lāsha(kha) mai Fīrāsta Shāna(khāna) Shō(kho) jā mīlī bēra

L 9. phī vīdā karāī Māla kō sha(kha) samānu karāyō Mēra Kaṭhāita Gaṁgājalī kī butī (Samera)

L 10. lē āpu karī hamarā rājya mānasan lē gaṭī v(b)āta uṭhāī chhī tai kō sāvadhāna karō (sarva)

L 11. v(b)āta sāvadhāna karō v(b)aḍō rājaghāu karō tai rōtak kō sarva kara akar karī sarva dōsha nīra

L 12. dōsha karī saraga kō ḍhiḍō pātāla kī nīdhī gaṁḍēlī pētēlī kukaryālō v(b)ājadāra v(b)janī

L 13. yā va(ba) sha(kha)rīyā sarva kara ṭōḍī pāyō Śrī Dīpa Chaṁdra Dēvajyu kī saṁtatī lē bhuchāyanō samē

L 14. ra kī saṁtatī lē bhuchanō jō rajā lē ta tai kan 000 (=Badārājājyu) kī hazāra dvāī sāchhī Śrī Kīsna Sīṁ

L 15. ga Gusāī Śrī Gangai Sīṁga Gusāī Hara Sīmga Lachhīmī Sīṁga Gusāī v(b)agasī Sīv(b)adēva Jōisī

L 16. Vajīra Sīv(b)adēva Jōisī Anupa Sīṁga Taḍāgī Balbhadra Ramākāṁta Kīsnadēva Rāmbha (–)

L 17. dra Jōisī Lālamanī Chaudharī Jaimala Hīmī Bhaṁdārī Vīra Sīṁga sējavālī La

L 18. chhīmana Rashīpāla Taḍāgī Lachhīmana Arjuna Chaudharī Syāma Jaiv(b)am Kārkī

L 19. Rāīmala Jasaita V(B)ōrā Amar Sīṁga Phaḍatyāla sāla Maharā Sākē

L 20. 1669 Jēshṭa vadī 9 gurau lishī(khī) taṁ Rudradēva Jōisī māraphata

L 21. hājara mukāma rājapura kaṁdāritaṁ Rāī Sīṁga ka

L 22. tōī Surnakāra

On the top right marginal side (two lines)

L 23. Samēra Adhīkārī kī sēvā Chākarī rōta jī

L 24. yadhana kī paḍī [v(b)aḍī] chha gaḍa dīlī kō(kī) v(b)aḍī rōta chha kāṁ laga

On the left marginal side :

L 25. yō tārīpha karuṁ

L 26. kāṁ laga lēshu (lēkhu) yēsī

L 27. rōta yēsō rājaghāu

L 28. aghā bhayō na pachhā kōī karī

L 29. saka tai v(b)āta mēharavānagī

L 30. karī Māla Amṛitapura kā

L 31. Sāṭhī Parvata Chyālī Dādī

L 32. mā (Bhēsōla Satīyālī   Satyālī) v(b)īsī

L 33. 43 ½ v(b) agasī jō rajā ī gā

L 34. u lē tai rāja kī māī para

L 35. tīna talāga chhana jō yō

L 36. bhāga ulaṭa yē bhāgī hō

L 37. ī dōsarī bhāga kara tai

L 38. kī māī para tīna talā

L 39. ga chhana tai kī māī para

L 40. gadhā chha

Translation :

On account of certain obsolete terms, faulty construction of sentences as well as lack of punctuation marks, the content of charter can not be translated word for word. Therefore an attempt at free translation is being made as follows:

On the top of plate :

i.   In memory of Śrī Baḍārājā jyu (Predecessor king/past king)

ii.   Dagger mark - which seems to be a symbol of Chandra rulers of the later period. This mark has been usually found on several copper plates and other archival records of the Chandra times.

On the main face (Ll. 1-22)

Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Rājā Dīpa Chandra dēva has issued this copper plate (grant) in favour of Samēr Adhikārī (through this charter) Samēr Adhikārī has been granted the land of Mau (village) Amṛitapura, under Parganā of Bōksāḍa along with Dhurā-daṁdā[23] (adjoining the granted land).

Samēra Adhikārī carried him (the king) from Ghētī to Tungēśwar on his back, while the Rōhilās were chasing the king in order to capture him. He (Samēr Adhikāri) negotiated with the Garhawālī forces, spied on the Rōhilās who had captured Almoṛā (Capital of Chandra King) and made them (Rōhilās) flee from Almoṛā. He (Samēr Adhikāri) was also instrumental in establishing our (Kumāunī king's) friendship with Paiḍē Khān. Bijī Rautēlā wanted to become the king of Kumāun and as such he went to Gaṛhwāl in order to seek the help of Gaṛhwāl king. Samēr Adhikāri captured and executed him. He also massacred the Rōhilās in the *Ghāṭā* (valley/way). He advised (Kumāunī king's) to pay homage to the king Emperor (Delhi) and arranged to pay tribute (i.e. provisions) to the king Emperor. Whereas the demand from the king Emperor was 21 lakhs for the possession of the *Māla* region (tarāi Bhābar area of Kumāun), he (Samēr Adhikāri) settled the amount for only 2 lakhs with the help of Firāsta Khān Khōjā. Thus he got the right over the *Māla* region.

He (Samēra) himself discharged the duties of *Mēra Kaṭhāita*.[24] Our (Kumāunī) subject conspired against us (the king); (Samēra Adhikāri) cautioned us (the king) and remained extremely loyal to the crown. For all these deeds, this land grant (granted to Samēra Adhikāri) has been exempted from all taxes and all the disputes (if any relating to this granted land) has been settled. The taxes which have been exempted are viz. *Saraga kō dhīdō, pātāla kī nidhī, gaṁdelī pētēlī, kukurayālō, bājdāra, bajanīyā* and *bakharīyā*.

The progeny of Śri Dīpa Chandra(king) will let enjoy (and) the progeny of Samēra Adhikāri will continue to enjoy (the grant). Whosoever king in future will confiscate this (granted) land shall suffer thousands of curses (imprecations) from Baḍārājājyu (deceased king i.e. predecessor of then present king). The witnesses (of grant) are ... Śri Kīsna Siṁga Gusāī, Śri Gajē Siṁga Gusāī, Har Siṁga, Lachh mī Siṁga Gusāī, bagashī Sibadēva Jōīsī, Vajīra Sibadēva Jōīsī, Anup Siṁga Taḍāgī, Bala Bhadra, Ramākānta, Kīsnadēva, Rām Bhadra Jōīsī, Lālamanī Chaudharī, Jaimal, Himī Bhandārī, Bīra Siṁgā Sējavālī, Lachhīmana Rakhīpāl Taḍāgī, Luchhīman Arjun Chaudharī, Shyāma Jaibama Kārkī, Rāīmala Jasaita Bōrā, Amar Siṁga Phaḍatyāla and Sāla Maharā.

The charter has been issued on the 9th. day of the dark half of the month Jyēṣṭha of Śaka Year 1669. It has been issued from Rājpura (Almoṛā) through court (of the king). It has been written by Rudradēva Jōshī and the scribe was Rāī Singh Sunrakāra.

On the top right marginal side (two lines : Ll. 23-24)

For the services rendered by Samēr Adhikāri he has been granted this big land grant (biggest grant of those days in the Chandra Kingdom).

On the left marginal side :
(Ll. 25-40)

Both the things, the *"Rājaghāu"*[25] done by Samēr Adhikāri and the *"Rōta"* granted to him, are so important which had never been done and will never be performed by others. King could not reciprocate the same by mere writing. For this very Samēra Adhikāri has been granted 60 *Bīsīs*[26] land in Māla Amṛitpur (i.e. in Tarāī Bhābar) and 43 ½ Bīsīs of land in the hills which includes the villages viz. *Chayālī, Dāḍīmā Bhainsle* and *Satiyālī* (presently in the Ranikhet Tehsil of Distt. Almora)

At the last few imprecatory sentences have been mentioned to prevent the confiscation or any alteration of this granted land by any king in future.

References :

1. Copper plate under study was discovered by the Author and Dr. Ram Singh (H.O.D Hind Deptt., P.G. college Bageswar) It was in the possession of Sh. Pratap Singh, village Chyālī, (Ranikhet) Distt. Almōṛā.

2. Indian Ephimeries - Vol. 6

3. According to Atkinson the *Himalayan Gazeteer, vol II, pt. II*, p. -590; Cosmo Publication, Delhi, reprinted 1981) the rule of Dīpa Chandra commenced on 1748 A.D. (Śaka 1670) but the plate under study informs that he was enthroned one year earlier i.e. Śaka 1669. Thus it is a new addition to our existing knowledge.

4. Irvine, William: *Later Mughals*, vol.2. pp. 117 - ff, Taj Publications, Delhi (Reprinted) 1989 Edition

5. Atkinson E.T. the *Himalayan Gazeteer, vol II, pt. II, pp. 586 - ff*

6. Ibid - p.587

7. Ibid - p. -588

8. Irvine, William : opcit - p. - 120

9. Atkinson; E.T. - op. cit - p. - 586

10. Ibid - pp 587 ff and Pandey, B.D. - *Kumāun kā Itihāsa* (in Hindi), Shyam Prakashan Almora, Reprinted 1990 pp-329 ff

11. Atkinson E.T. - Op.cit.pp. 586-588
    Pandey B.D, - Op. cit. pp. 327-330

12. Joshi M.P. - "Champawat Copper Plate of King Kalyāṇ Chandra" in *Svasti Śrī*, pp 151-ff, Agam

Prakashan Delhi 1984

13. Negi, Vidyadhar S. - "Kalyana Chandra ka Aṭhāgulī Tāmrapatra" (in) Hindi) communicated in *Bulletin of Museum and Archaeology*, Lucknow and the text of the charter under study itself reveals this fact.

14. "*Rōta*" is similar to the "*rakata-pata*" or ' "*rakta-mānya*" described by D. C. Sirkar. He states that it is an endowment of rent free land for the support of the descendants of warriors killed in battle (Indian Epigraphical Glossary- p 275, Motilal Banarasidas, New Delhi 1966). But in the context of Kumāunī inscriptions it is noteworthy that was granted for both, one who killed in the battle or one who fought on the cost of his life. Besides this, it was also granted, for any other important service rendered to the state or king. "*Rota*" was a prestigeous grant in the Chandra's time (Negi, Vidyadhar-*Kumāun kā Sāmājika evm Ārthika Itihāsa*, pp 290 & 210, unpublished Ph.D. Thesis; K.U. Nainital 1988.

15. Text - line - 5 to 11

16. Ibid - line - 3-4

17. Ibid - line - 3-4 & 6-9

18. Ibid - line - 5-6

19. Ibid - line - 6-7

20. Atkinson E.T. - Op.cit. p-588

21. Text line - 7-8

22. Ibid

23. "*Dhurā-dāmdā*" is a land which is not cultivable but it yields wood and grass and it can be used as a pasture land. (Paliwal N.D. -)*Kumāunī Hindī Sabda Kōśh* - pp 150 & 188. Delhi 1985; Rubali K.D. - *Kumāunī Hindī Vyutpatti Kōśha* pp-325 & 360, Granthayan, ALigarh 1983)

24. Since the king was fleeing and he had no attendants with him. So Samēra Adhikāri discharged the duties of Mēra & Kathāit, who probably arranged the *Gangājalī* (holi water) for the royal worship.

25. "*Rajaghāu*" means a gallant deed for the State service.

26. "*Bīsī*" is a unit used for measuring the land. In the Chandra times it was used frequently.
1 Bīsī' = 20 Nālī (Negi Didhyadhar - 1988 - op.cit. pp. 304 & 307) and 1 Nālī=240 Sq. Yards (Stowell, V.A. - *A Mannual of the Land Tenures of the Kumāon Division* - preface; Allahabad 1966)

Acknowledgements:

A.R. Kulakarni

The following stone inscription from the village Adahalli belongs to the Saka year 1190 (corresponding to 1268 A.D.) and falls in the reign period of Yadava Mahadeva of Devagiri. The village Adahalli is 16 Km. from Athani in the Athani Taluka of Belgaum District and has been referred to in an earlier inscription of Balligeri (village in the same taluka) dated 1151 A.D. as follows :

".... *Śrī-Pārśva-dēvargge samasta-sadguṇa-ṣamavitan= enisida Aḍahalḷiya mūliga Rāya-gāvuṁḍa .. magaṁ=Balagāvuṁḍa ...*"

(Vide line 77 from my estampage noticed in A.R.S.I.E., 1953-54, No. 175)

However, this is the first and sofar the only stone inscription found in this village which was copied by me. It is fixed in the eastern wall of the recently constructed Hanuman Temple, which faces South.

1.   *The Date and the Regnal year*

Though the record does not specify the Saka year it gives the regnal year of Mahadeva and the cyclic year as *Vibhava Samvatsara* with further details as *Kārtika Bahula Amāvase*, Somavāra which corresponds to Saka 1190 and 5th November (f.d.t.21) 1268 A.D. Since the numerical figure of the regnal year engraved on the record is damaged it cannot be made out. Any attempt to read a figure there will be a hunch.

The Yadava king Mahadeva's reign period has been taken as commencing from 1361 A.D. on the basis of his Kalegaon copper plate grant made on *"ātmanaḥ paṭṭabandhasamayē* [E.I., XXXII, p.34]. That Krishna/Kannara, the brother of Mahadeva continued to rule till 1261 A.D. is found from the Belgaum inscription of Saka 1184, Durmati Samvatsara [K.I., II, No. 40] while the latest date observed for Kannara is May 1261 A.D. and Mahadeva ascended the throne on the 29th August of that year. If this is to be used as the basis for estimating the lost regnal year figure of the record, it would be the 7th year. But as Dr. Ritti notes "curiously enough inscriptions do not count his (Mahadeva's) regnal years from this date .... The phenomenon of the majority of his records counting the regnal year from 1260 A.D. when Kannara was still on throne, is to be explained by the fact that he was by that time closely associated with the governance of the kingdom". [The Seuṇas, p. 154]. That there was a conjoint rule of Kannara and Mahadeva which probably began in Saka 1182 (i.e., 1260 A.D.) can

be made and from a record from Nidoni which refers to :

"*Kannaradēva-mahādēva-vijaya-rājya ....* etc" [*A.R.S.I.E.,* 1933-35, Book No. 185]

In any case since the regnal year in our Arhalli record cannot be made out, it unfortunately fails to provide us any independent evidence on the regnal year.

2.   *The Record*

The Arhalli record is in the medieval Kannaḍa language and script. While the top of the slab exhibits the usual Shivalinga, the cow and calf, the devotee, the sun and moon and a dagger, it also exhibits an engravement of counchshell on the left side at the beginning of the write up.

The following is the text as read by me:

1   *Namastumga-śiraśchumbi*

2   *Chamdra-chāmara-chārave trailōkya -*

3   *nagar-ārambhaḥ¹-mūla-stambhāya-śam -*

4   *bhavē —— [1 ——*] Svasti samasta-pra[śa]sti-sahita[m]*

5   *Śrīmatu Yādava-Nārayaṇa-bhu -*

6   *ja=baḷa-prauḍha-pratāpa-chakravarti Śrī Mahā -*

7   *dēva-vijaya-rājyōdayada Vibhava-Samvatsa -*

8   *rada Kartika ba Amāvāse Sōmavāra -*

9   *dalli Śrīmatu sarvādhikāri Sōvidēvana nirū*

10   *radim Śrīmatu sumkādhikāri Kāḷyaya [Kālayya] A -*

11   *ḍahaḷi Kōhaḷi Haḍalige emb-ī mūrū-stha -*

12   *ḷada prabhu-mūla-mukyāvadhi yamṭu-hiṭṭu [A] [ḷva*]*

13   *prabhu-māuyada samakshadalli ā kāḷayyamu ā pu -*

14   *ṇya-dinadali Aḍahāḷ-baḷiya aravattokkalige*

15   *ā mūla-sthaḷada bāhiva-sīmeyam dhārā-pū -*

16   *rvakam māḍi biṭṭanutanu —— Yimt=īdharmavanu kiḍi -*

17   *sidavanu nāḍimge hāḷi brati (brāti) gamḍakanu —— Mamga*

18   *ḷa mahā-śrī śrī śrī —— Sva-dattam(ttām) para-dattam (ttām) vā yyō(yō)*

19   *harēti vasumdharā[m] shashṭir-varsha-sahasrāṇi vi -*

20   *shṭāyāṁ jāyatē kṛimi[ḥ] —— [2 ——*]*

Opening with the usual verse saluting shambhu the record refers to the Yadava king Mahadēva's regnal year and the date as discussed above. It states that the Sumkādhikāri - the tax official, Kālayya, at the orders of the Sarvādhikāri or the governor Sovideva, on that auspicious day (somavati Amavase) relinquished by pouring water (Dhārāpūrvakam) the outer boundary area of Moola sthala i.e., Adahalli to the nearby (Baḷiya) Aravattokkalu i.e., a settlement of 60 families. The relinquishment was done on the presence of the Prabhus of Adahali, Kohali and Hadalige Entu Hittu i.e., officials of the village community - the Āyagars or Baluḷidars. The record ends with imprecatory statements.

3.   Discussion

This settlement of Aravattokkalu is the present Adalhatti - a vādi or hamlet of Adahalli adjoining all the 3 villages named in the record. That the relinquishment of land area had the consent of the three adjoining village communities is evinced by the presence of the Prabhus and entu hittu of the villages. That the government took legal note of the new settlement of Aravattokkalu and delimited the boundary of the old parent village (moola sthana) Adahalli in favour of the new hatti or hamlet is evinced by the

fact that the governor ordered and the tax official executed it. While the ancient villages have been pictured as self-sufficient, self-governing 'Republican' (Charles Metcalf) communities their territorial integration was achieved through rulers and the land revenue system The need for such integration was political as the state needed resources to maintain itself. This further explains the specific mention of the governor and the tax official.

But the record does not tell us anything about who these Aravattokkalu were - whether they originally belonged to Adahalli or the other two villages or were a migrant lot from elsewhere. But certainly they were not Brahmins as Brahmins are not known to settle in the vādis they mostly settled in the Kasba villages. Further these Aravattokkalu should not be confused with the brahmin group with a territorial name 60/64 okkulu like Shivalliyavaru, Haigaru, mulukanādu Kamme, Kobaru, etc., etc. While there is no evidence of any Brahmin family ever resided in Adalhatti, Tirula Brahmins are found to stay since long in the moola sthala Adahalli and still continue to engage in agriculture, particularly betel vine cultivation. But Tigula Brahmins are not 60 okkalu Brahmins.

As an olsiter dicta to this discussion on

our inscription may refer to the archieval records at the Mandal (Purohit Duftur) stating that the village Adahalli together with village Basargi (Basurige of Balligeri inscription) now in Jatu Jal Sangli district) was granted in inam to the temple of Ramesvara of the regime of Madhavarao Pesheve in 1762 A.D. The administrators of these two villages were the Mohasis of Ramatirth, who are Deshartha brahmins.

All the 3 villages referred to in the inscriptions are fully identified as modern Adahalli, Kohalli and Yele hadalagi in the Athani Jal. of Belgaum district and lie on the old Kagwad-Bijapur Road running north by east of Athani. Hadalagi, now known as Yele hadalagi gets inscriptional notice for the first time through our inscription. According to earlier inscriptions all the other villages belonged to a Kampaṇa or sub-division known as Umbaravāni belonging to Kanambode 300.

11. DAMAMITRA OF ERICH AND MUSANAGAR BRICK INSCRIPTIONS

Omprakash Lal Srivastava

Erich is situated on right bank of the river Betwā (Vetravatī) in tehsil Garauthā, district Jhānsī in Bundelkhand region of Uttar Pradesh. We have found a brick inscription in Brāhmī script. There are ten copies of this inscription which denote that these bricks are square in shape. It measures 27 × 27 × 10cm. and the inscription is engraved on one side of the bricks.

It follows as —

Raño Bambakis a Dāmamitasa Poṅdarika[1]

Though it is undated, yet on the basis of palaeography it can be placed in first centuary B.C. After the word 'poṅdarīka', there is a symbol of lotus which indicates that the inscription is complete in itself. The first word 'Raño' clearly indicates that Dāmamitra was a king and he was the member of Baimbika family about which we know from the word 'Bambakisa' in the inscription. On the basis of the inscription we know that Dāmamitra had performed a 'Poṅdarīka Yajña' in first century B.C. and it is first archaeological evidence about this type of Yajña in such early period. Viṣṇuvardhana[2] is known to perform Poṅdarika Yajña in 4th century A.D.

Further an inscription engraved on a square brick (47×47×8.5cm) has been found from Mūsānagar on left bank of the river Yamunā in tehsil Ghāṭampur, district Kanpur, U.P. Now it is preserved in the department of Ancient Indian History, culture & Archaeology, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi. It is also undated, but on palaeographical ground, it can be attibuted to 1st. century B.C. There is a symbol of lotus of four petals at the end as in Erich inscription. If follows as —

(Bam) bake Aśvavatāyanīputasa Dāmamitasa[3] *Aśvamedha.*[4]

Thus, both the inscriptions are in the same shape with same symbols and of the same period. The issues of these inscriptions are of the same name. Therefore, there is no doubt that Dāmamitra was one and the same person of both inscriptions. Mūsānagar inscription also informs about this Baimbika family. Dāmamitra is stated with his mother's name as Aśvavatāyanīputas but the name of his father is unknown. He performed Aśvamedha Yajña. Thus, Dāmamitra was the first person who per-

formed two types of Yajñas-Pondarika and Aśvamedha, in such early period. Here, it is further worth noting that Ayodhyā inscription of Dhanadeva[5] informs that Senāpati Puṣyamitra performed two Aśvamedhas (Dviraśvamedha Yājinaḥ Senāpatiḥ Puṣyamitrasya). Dāmamitra is credited not for two Aśvamedhas but at least for two types of Yajñas-Pondarika as well as Aśvamedha also. Probably some information about other Yajñas by Dāmamitra may come to light in future. The Brick inscription from Erich containing the legend - 'SarvamedhayāJinaḥ[6] would have been issued in reference of Dāmamitra. Therefore, we should wait for further information about Dāmamitra and his family.

Further it is notable that Mūsānagar is not established as a capital but Erich was such in the position. Three new dynasties and six kings (Mugamukha, Dāmamitra, Śatānīka, Aditamitra, Mūlamitra and Aṣāḍhamitra) have come to light from Erich.[7] Th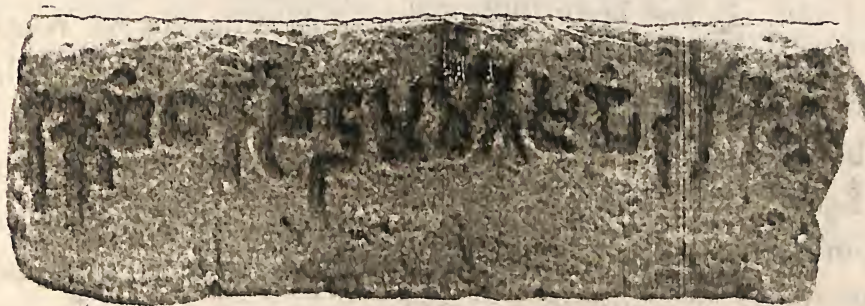erefore we can easily say that Erich was the capital and Mūsānagar was his next centre or at least on the northern border of the kingdom.

Thus, these are the epigraphic evidences of the rule of Baimbika family. Agnimitra, son of Senāpati Puṣyamaitra, ruling at Vidiśā, called himself as a Baimbika in *Mālavikāgnimitram* of Kālidāsa.[8] In the light of these references we can say that there may be relation between them, because in the list of Agnimitra's successors which is given by Puranas, there is no mention of Dāmamitra and other rulers of Erich. It is important that after the decline of Vidiśā, Erich flourished as a capital and the kings of Erich continued from C. 2nd. century B.C. to C. 2nd. century A.D., but there is no information after Bhāgavata or Bhāgabhadra in 2nd. century B.C. at Vidiśā and it is more important that Bhāgabhadra was not the member of the family of Agnimitra.[9] Therefore, Dāmamitra is very important for the history of the region in the reference of Erich and Mūsānagar brick inscriptions.

1. Srivastava, O.P.L : *Archaeology of Erich:* Discovery of New Dynasties p. 7
2. Fleet, J.F. : Kritau Pundarīke..., Vijayagarh Inscription of Viṣnuvardhana, *Bhāritīya Abhilekh Saṃgraha* (Hindi), p. 314
3. Pathak, V.S. : reads *'Devimitra'* in Annals of Bhandārakar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. XL P. 218
4. Mishra, T.N. : reads the inscription...*Ke* Aśva(mitasa) Devamitasa Aśvamedha' in Prāchīna Bharatīya Inton Kā Eka

Adhyayàna, P. 103

5. Sircar, D.C.   : Select Inscriptions, P. 96

6. Srivastava, O.P.L.   : Ibid, P. 13

7. Ibid,   : P. 3

8. Dākshiṇyaṁnāṁ
Bimboṣṭhi Baimbikānāṁ
Kulavrataṁ.   : Mālavikāgnimitraṁ, Chapter-IV

9. Verma, T.P.   : Purābhilekah Chayanikā (Part I), P. 109

12. NEW INSCRIPTION OF VASTUPALA : PATAN

Vilas Jadhav

This inscription engraved on a pillar of black basalt, was found during the foundation work of tourist complex under eastern embankmnt of Sahasralinga Tank which is hundred metre away from the famous Rani-Ki-Vav at Patan, Dist. Mehsana of North Gujarat.[1] The pillar (1.5mt. height) is octagonal at bottom followed by sixteen sides and terminating with circular section. The circular section is ornamented with bell and chain in motif and an octagonal band with lozenge motifs. The inscription is engraved on one face of the octagonal part of the pillar.

The writing cover a space of about 15 cm. by 7 cm. It has beautifully engraved four lines and is in excellent state of preservation. The size of th letter is 7 mm. The characters are Jaina Nagari and language is Sanskrit. The inscription commences directly with date without customary introductory verse. The date is mentioned as year 1284 but samvatsara is not given. The inscription refers to Vastupāla as son of Asāraja and Kumardevi of *Prāgavāta Gōtra*, residing at town *Śrīmatpaṭṭan*. Vastupāla is attributed as 'Samghapati' and 'maham' which stands for Mahanta.

TRANSLATION

In the year 1284, at Śrimatpattan resided Śri Vastupāla son of Asārāja and Kumārdevī of Prāgavāta family and was titled as Samghapati and Maham.

The inscription is in prose and the full stops are given in the second, third and fourth line. The vowel 'e' is shown by vertical stroke in front of the word Sa in verse. The vowwel 'i' in word Sri is written in two types. In the first line it has been shown with a vertical stroke, whereas in the second, third and fourth line it is connected to the vertical stroke.

Vastupala of the present inscription is none other than the famous Mahamatya of Virdhavala of Waghela dynasty. Inscriptions of Vastupala and Tejpala are generally dated in Vikram Samvat as Nṛpa vikram, Śrismat and Samta[2] But in the inscription under reference the year 1284 is given without referring the era. However, its corresponding christian year is 1228 A.D.

The purpose of the epigraph is to record the Vastupāla's stay at Patan in year 1284. It is the earliest inscription of Vastupāala mentioning the names of his father, mother, gotra and his titles. So far this is the first dated inscription of Vastupala coming from Anhilvad Patan,[3] the

capital of Solanki Kings. Other important later inscriptions come from Taranga Hills, Mound Abu, Girnar, Dabhoi etc.[4] which give the details of his family, religion and public works.

From the 9th sarga of the *Kīrtikaaumudī* of Someśvaraa (after V.S. 1288) it appears that Vastupāla had earned the title 'Saṁghapati' by organising and conducting a great pilgrimage to the *tirthas* of śatrunjaya (Palitana), Raivàtaka, (Junagadh) and Prabhāsa (Somnath). According to Prabandhas[5], (V.S. 1405), Vastupāla had made 13 pilgrimages. The first was in his childhood with his father Aśarāaja, who was also titled as 'Saṁghapati' or leader of the pilgrims' carvan. That was in the year saṁvat 1240-41. After becoming the minister, Vastupāla led the Saṁghas and undertook the pilgrimaage in the year saṁvat 1278 onwards.[6]

He was also attributed with another title coded Maham which is an abbriviated form of Mahanta. His predecessors too, bore these two titles. Apart from these, he had 24 other titles.[7]

According to *Naranārāyaṇānanda* of Vastupāla, *Sukṛtasaṁkīrtana* of Arisimha (before V.s. 1287) and *Sukṛtakikllolinī* of Udayprabhasuri (after V.S. 1277) Vastupāla has constructed temples, rest houses, tanks, well etc. His pious works were not limited to only the Jaina religion, he also built hospitals, Brahamasalas, Mathas, Shiva Temples and even mosques as stated in *Prabandhakośā* of Rajasekhara at various places like Taranga Hills, Mount Abu, Girnar, Anhilwad, Stambhatirha, Brugukacha etc. But no public works of Vastupāla and Tejpāla have been preserved to this day, except temples built/patronised by him at Mount Abu and Girnar. This engraved pillar, belonging to a temple now disappeared, testified to the fact th at Vastupāla built the temple at Patan also. It is first epigraphic evidence confirming the literary references.

TEXT

1. *1284 Varṣe Śrimat Patan Vasta*

2. *Prāgvāṭa Cha Ō Śri Āsarāja Su*

3. *(ta ?) Ō Śri Kumardēvi Kukṣisa*

4. *Saṁghapatimah Ō Sri Vastupālaḥ:*

NOTES:

1.   At present it is lying in the office of the C.A; A.S.I. Patan.

2.   Jinvijaya, Prachin Jain Lekh Sangraha Part-II.

3.   G.V. Acharya; Historical Inscriptions of Gujarat.

4.   —————————do—————————

5.   Rajasekhara, prabandhakosa

6.   Dr. B.J. Sandesara, Literary Circle of Mahamatyc Vastupala

7.   Ep. India, Vol. VIII page 200.

13. TWO COPPERPLATES OF RASHTRAKUTA DURGARAJA A RE-EXAMINATION

Dr. H.S. Thosar

Two copperplate charters issued by a chief named Durgarāja of the Rāshṭrakuṭa family have been recently edited by Dr. S. Subramonia Iyer and N. Nanjundaswamy.[1] These plates were obtained from the Directorate of Archaeology, Government of Maharashtra, Bombay. As the provenance of these records is unknown the editors could not offer their comments on either the historicity of Durgarāja or about the specific branch of the Rāshṭrakuṭas to which he belonged. On the basis of palaeographical resemblance of these charters with the Antroli-Chharoli grant of Rāshṭrakuṭa Karkka, they expressed the possibility that "King Durgarāja might have ruled over some part of the present Gujarat state though we hasten to add that our conclusion is by no means certain." A close scrutiny of palaeography as well as the exact identification of place names mentioned in these grants helps us to arrive at certain conclusions about the historicity and the whereabouts of Durgarāja which, if accepted will certainly expand the range of our information about the pre-Dantidurga history of the Imperial Rāshṭrakuṭas.

The importance of these inscriptions lies in the fact that they are the earliest dated records of the Rāshṭrakuṭas[2]. The date mentioned in both these grants is (Śaka) Samvat 597 or AD 675. The palaeography is in keeping with the date. It is further interesting to note that palaeographically these charters are more closer to the Bhindon and Khamkhed grants of Rāshṭrakuṭa Karkka Pratāpashila, the grandfather of Dantidurga, rather than the Antroli-Chharoli grant of Rāshṭrakuṭa Karkka of Gujarat. The Bhindon and Khamkhed grants were undated, but on palaeographic considerations have been assigned to the later half of the Seventh Century A.D.[3] The dates of the records under study belong to the same period. It follows that Durgarāja of these records was a contemporary of Karkka Pratāpashila.

The gifted villages Tarachchhavāṭikā Lavaṇigrāma and Pipparikā as well as the boundary village Hastigrāma were situated in the Bahali *vishaya* as per the grants. Bahula as a *vishaya* unit has been mentioned in the Bahulawad copperplates of Rāshṭrakuṭa Govinda III and in the Mundakhede plates of Sendraka Chief Jayashakti, who was probably governing the adjacent territory of Gujarat and Maharashtra on behalf of the Chālukyas of Vatapi – it is mentioned as Bahulāpuri.[5] It has been identified with Bahal, a large village and an ancient site in the Chalisgaon taluka of the Jalgaon district in Khandesh

region of Maharashtra. In early Brahmi inscriptions it is referred to as Bāhaḍa.[6] Bahali *vishaya* of the grants of Durgarāja is identical with Bahal. This is confirmed by phonetical similarity and the exact identification of most of the villages from Ba- hali *vishaya* in the vicinity of Bahal and at the same directions as indicated in the inscriptions under study. Following is the identification of the inscriptional place names with their modern equavalents :

1.	Bahali Vishaya-Bahal	-Tal.Chalisgaon,	Dist.	Jalgaon
2.	Tarachchhavatikā - Taravade	-Tal.Chalisgaon,	Dist.	Jalgaon
3.	Hastigrāma - Hatgaon	-Tal.Chalisgaon,	Dist.	Jalgaon
4.	Pipparikā - Pimprikh	-Tal.Chalisgaon,	Dist.	Jalgaon
5.	Lavaṇigrāma - Lon	-Tal.Chalisgaon,	Dist.	Jalgaon

The Bhindon and Khamkhed grants have shown that Aurangabad and Buldana districts of present day Maharashtra state formed the parts of Karkka Pratāpashila's territory. Bahal - Chalisgaon region of the Jalgaon district is adjecent to both these districts. So Durgarāja might have been a collateral subordinate of Rāshtrakuṭa Karkka Pratpashila. The Bhindon grant of Pratāpashila corroborates this conjecture because that grant was made by Svāmirāja who describes himself as the servant of Rāshṭrakuṭa Karkka and the son of Durgarāja.[7] The family name of Svāmirāja is not mentioned in the Bhindon grant, but from the repetition of the names like Svāmirāja or Svāmikarāja and Durgarāja in the genealogies of different branches of the Rāshṭrakuṭas and from the tradition followed by most of the Rāshṭrakuṭas of appointing their kins as feudatories and officers, it can be presumed that Svāmirāja also was a Rāshṭrakuṭa prince and a collateral subordinate of Karkka Pratāpashila. His father's name was Durgarāja. Considering the contemporaneity of all these grants and the contiguity of the territories governed by these Rāshṭrakuṭa Chiefs, Durgarāja of the records under study can be identified with his namesake and the father of Svāmirāja of the Bhindon grant. Since Svāmirāja has been described as the '*anuchara*' of Karkka Pratāpashila, Rāshṭrakuṭa Durgarāja of the records under study also must have been a collateral subordinate of Rāshṭrakuṭa Karkka-Pratāpashila, though he has not mentioned the name of his overlord in the grants under study. This guess is supported by another factor of similarity in the grants under study and the charters of Karkka. The Bhindon plate was issued in the presence of *Sandhivigrahika* Purohita. The village grant of Khamkhed plates

was made in the presence of Nagamb-hatta Purohita. Thhe composer of the grants under study is Sandhivigrahika Nāgāditya, who appears to be the same person.

The two charters under study have revealed for the first time that besides the northern districts of Marathwada and the whole of Vidarbha in addition to the Baitul district of M.P. the Khandesh region of Maharashtra was also included in the Rāshṭrakuṭa kingdom at least for some time during the 7th century A.D. In the light of this information it seems that the dominion of the Rāshṭrakuṭas was quite extensive even before the assumption of sovereignty by Dantidurga. Particularly Karkka-Pratpashila seems to have been responsible for this expansion. He is so far the only ancestor of Dantidurga whose charters have been discovered. To the Bhindon and Khamkhed plates which were known so far equal number of new inscriptions belonging to the reign of Karkka-Pratāpashila has been added by the discovery of these two charters.

As per the Bhindon plates Karkka-Pratāpashila was ruling over the Aurangabad, Jalna and Parbhani districts of Marathwada.[8] His subordinate and nephew Davanadruhata was holding the western part of Vidarbha, while Rāshṭrakuṭa Nannaraja Yuddhasura ruled over adjoining parts of east-ern Vidarbha and Madhya Pradesh as per the Multal,[10] Tivarkhed[11] and sanglood[12] grants and now the present grants have shown that even the Jalgaon district in Khandesh was administered by another Rāshṭrakuṭa chief named Durgaraja. In the light of this evidence the relations between the Chālukyas of Vātāpi and the early Rāshṭrakuṭas need to be re-examined. All these seven copper plates of the early Rāshṭrakuṭas belong to the later half of the seventh and the first half of the eighth century. During this period five kings of the Chālukya dynasty ruled at Vātpi viz. Vikramāditya-I, Vinayāditya, Vijayāditya, Vikramāditya-II and Kirtivarman-II. In none of the Rāshṭrakuṭa grants the name of the Chālukyas occurs as the overlords of the Rāshṭrakuṭas. In the same way not a single grant issued by these Chālukya kings was found in the area covered by the findspots of the Rāshṭrakuṭa grants referred to above. At least in two grants Rāshṭrakuṭa Karkka-Pratpashila has been described as the overlord of other Rāshṭrakuta chiefs.[13] It follows that the region between the Narmada and Godavari (excluding south Gujarat) was governed by different branches of the early Rāshṭrakuṭas independently in which the family of Dantidurga was the chief. It would therefore not be wrong to presume that at least from the middle of the seventh century A.D. the Rāshṭrakuṭas were not the feudatories of the Chālukyas of

Vātāpi, but independent rulers of Northern Deccan. This explains their defiant attitude towards the Chālukyas, such as the invasion of the Chālukya territory by Govinda-I[14], the occupation of southern Gujarat by Rāshṭrakuṭa Vajraṭa[15] and the kidnapping of the Chālukya princess Bhavanāgā by Karkka Pratāpashila's son Indra.[16]

The Dashavātāra cave inscription at Ellora[17] mentions the longest genealogy of the ancestors of Dantidurga which is as under :

Dantivarman
|
Govindarāja
|
Karkkarja
|
Indrarāja
|
Dantidurgarāja

It shows that the ancestors of Dantidurga were ruling in this area at least a century prior to his date. Out of them Karkka-Pratāpashila is the only Rāshṭrakuta king whose inscriptions have been discovered. His father Govinda has been indentified with his namesake mentioned in the Aihole inscription of Pulakesin-II. If it is so Dantivarman might have been the contemporary of Chālukya Pulakeśi-I. It means that the ancestors of Dantidurga were ruling in northern Maharashtra right since the begining of the

Chālukya regime. If we take into account the information contained in the inscriptions of the Chālukyas of Kalyaṇa about the defeat of Rāshṭrakuṭa Indra, the son of Rāshṭrakuṭa Krishṇa by Chālukya Jayasimha; the progenitor of the house of the Chalukyas of Vātāpi, the occupation of this region by the Rāshṭrakutas even goes to the pre-Chālukya period.[19]

Dr. K.V. Ramesh has rightly accepted the conflict between Rāshṭrakuṭa Indra and Chālukya Jayasimha as a historical fact.[20] The conflict had taken place some where on the route connecting Gujarat with Karnataka. The route passed through Khandesh and Ellora, where the ancestors of Dantidurga were ruling. If Indra ruled in the same region he will have to be treated as the ancestor of Dantivarman. It is not impossible because Dantidurga had mentioned Karkka as the founder of the Rāshṭrakuṭa family in his Ellora grant which is his earliest[21] record. The genealogy of his Samangadh grant starts from Govinda-I whereas the names of Dantivarman and Indra-Prachhakarāja appear only in the Dashāvatāra cave inscription which was probably the last and unfinished inscription of his reign.[23] It shows that the list of the ancestors of Dantidurga went on lengthening with his enhancing prestige. Had he lived for some more time, names of even the ancestors of Dantivarman would have been included in his official genealogy. Krishṇa and Indra

of the inscriptions of the Later Chālukyas can thus be treated as the ancestors of Dantivarman.

It is probably due to this reminescence that in some of the charters of the Imperial Rāshṭrakuṭas their origin has been traced from Yādva Krishna.[24] The evidence was dismissed by Altekar as a mere imagination as it appears in the inscriptions of the successors of Dantidurga.[25] But when the accounts of the royal charters of the Chālukyas of Kalyāna are being proved to be more authentic than the inscriptions of the Chālukyas of Vātpi[26], how can the evidence occuring in the inscriptions of Rāshṭrakuṭa Govinda III and Krishna III be dismissed; particularly in the light of the evidence quoted above ? The frequent occurrence of the names of Krishna and Indra in the genealogy of the Imperial Rāshṭrakuṭas strengthens this conjecture. Chālukya Jayasimha who defeated Rāshṭrakuṭa Indra flourished in the first quarter of the sixth century A.D.[27] Krishna therefore will have to be assigned a date at about 500 A.D. If it is so the early Rāshṭrakutas will have to be regarded among the immediate successors of the Vākāṭakas. Interestingly the area covered by the findspots of the seven Rāshṭrakuṭa charters referred to above formed the part of the kingdoms of the two branches of the Vākāṭakas. So far we have very meagre information about the early Rāshṭrakuta kings. Their history

can be reconstructed as under with the help of fresh epigraphic data.

Rāshṭrakuṭa Krishna and his son Indra :- The names of these two kings are mentioned only in the inscriptions of the Chālukyas of Kalyāna in which Krishna's name occurs simply as the father of Indra.[28] Krishna was probably a subordinate chief under the Vākāṭakas or their immediate successors and seems to have carved out a small kingdom in the Ellora-Aurangabad region during the chaotic condition following the dismemberment of the Vākāṭaka kingdom. Since Indra was a contemporary of Chālukya Jayasimha who flourished at the beginning of the sixth century A.D., Krishna's date will have to be fixed in the later half of the fifth century. In this respect a reference to king Akālavarsha occurring in the Merkara grant dated 466 A.D. of a Ganga king of Mysore is important. Since Akālavarshha was an epithet of Rāshṭrakuta Krishna-I, II and III, Lewis Rice opined that Akālavarsha might have been a Rāshṭrakuta king. Considering the chronological contemporaneity and the tradition of naming descendants after the names and epithets of ancestors which was so common among the Rāshṭrakuṭas, such a possibility can not be totally ruled out. Fleet has attributed the coins known as *Krishnarāja rūpyaka* to this Rāshṭrakuta Krishna instead of Kalachuri Krishnarāja[29] whose

status as a king is doubtful.

Indra appears to have consolidated his position by conquering neighbouring territories. The inscriptions of the Chālukyas of Kalyāna describe him as a great warrior whose army consisted of 800 elephants and who had waged at least 105 wars against his enemies.[30] Even keeping an allowance for exagaration it must be admitted that he was the first formidable Rāshtrakuta king, because the information about him comes from the enemy's records. He seems to have been responsible for the expansion of the kingdom into Khandesh and Vidarbha. At the end of his reign he seems to have been defeated by the invading army of Chālukya Jayasimha as mentioned in the inscriptions of the Chālukyas of Kalyāna.

Dantivarman of the Ellora-Dāshavatāra cave inscription was probably Indra's successor. He seems to have managed to keep his kingdom intact by temporarily accepting the overlordship of Chālukya Pulakeśi-I. Dantivarman's son and successor Indra-Prachchhakarāja appears to have continued his father's policy. By assisting the Chālukyas in expanding their territory he strengthened his position more and more. The Chālukyas started an aggressive policy from Kirtivarman-I and rapidly expanded their kingdom to all directions. The coastal region of Konkan was under continuous naval attacks right from Kirtivarman to Pulakeśi-II. The lat-

ter had bestowed the title 'Vishamasiddhi' upon his brother Kubja Vishnuvardhana for his distinct valour in land as well as naval battles.[31] Interestingly the Ellora Dashāvatāra inscription eulogises Indra as 'Vishamamahipati'[32] The Aihole inscription of Pulakeśi-II specifically records the meritorious services of the family of Govinda towards the Chālukyas.[33] It is therefore quite possible that Indra assisted Kirtivarman-I in his naval expedition against the Mauryas of Konkan and obtained the title of 'Vishamamahipati'. In the Sanjan copperplate grant of Rāshtrakuta Amoghavarsha-I, Indra is described by his epithet 'Prachchhakarāja'.[34] So far no attempt has been made to realise the significance of this epithet. 'Prachchhakarāja Indra' looks similar to the names and epithets such as 'Vatsarāja Udayana' or 'Angarāja Karna' indicating the sphere of their jurisdiction. Prachchhaka or Prachchhakā is the inscriptional name of the present town of Prakashā in the Dhulia district of Khandesh.[35] The association of this geographical name with Indra suggests his jurisdiction over Khandesh region. It seems that Indra regained the Khandesh region from the Chālukyas by obliging them in the expansion of their dominion, which his ancestral namesake had lost.

Interestingly the two charters of Durgarāja referred to above reveal the rule

of the Rāshtrakutas over Khandesh as seen above. Durgarāja's father's name has been mentioned as Bappa. The latter might have been a son or descendant of Indra and inherited the territory of Khandesh where he was succeeded by his son Durgarāja of the grants under study. Indra's another son Govinda and his descendants appear to have continued to rule in the Ellora Aurangabad region.

Rashtrakuta Govinda-I:- Govinda was the first prominent king among the early Rāshtrakutas. He was probably the contemporary of Mangalesha and Pulakesi-II. The identification of Govinda-who according to the Aihole inscription along with Appāyika had invaded the Chalukya kingdom from the north of the Bhimā; with Rashtrakuta Govinda-I is now an established fact.[36] Dr. K.V. Ramesh has rightly suggested that Appāyika was probably the son of Mangalesha.[37] It seems that during the civil war between Pulakesi-II and Mangalesha, Govinda supported the latter as he was the ruling king. After the death of Mangalesha his son Appāyika seems to have made an unsuccessful bid to capture Vātāpi with the backing of Rāshtrakuta Govinda. As described in the Aihole inscription, Appāyika lost his life in this skirmish and Govinda was pardoned by Pulakesi-II, considering the earlier services of his family to the Chālukyas.

After the conflict between Chālukya Jayasimha and Rāshtrakuta Indra referred to above, the war between Pulakesi-II and Govinda-I was the first rupture between the Chālukyas of Vātāpi and the Early Rāshtrakutas. In this campaign Govinda had to suffer a defeat; but it gives us an idea of the fact that the early Rāshtrakutas had not forgotten their humiliation caused by the Chālukyas which continued to be the main cause of future outbreaks. For the time being Govinda appears to have patched his differences with Pulakesi-II. Pulakesi checked Harshavardhana beyond the Narmada. We have no definite proof about Govinda's role in this venture. But since the Rāshtrakutas were ruling in the territory immediately to the south of Narmada, their assistance must have proved to be decisive in this conflict. It seems that at least till the end of Pulakesi's reign the Rāshtrakutas ruled their territory as the subordinates of the Chālukyas.

Govinda's son and successor Karkka Pratapashila was the most formidable king among the early Rāshtrakutas. This is borne by the fact that he is the only king among the early Rāshtrakutas whose charters have been discovered so far. These charters were actually issued by the subordinates of Karkka in which the latter is described as their overlord. This indicates that Karkka was ruling as a sovereign king. The political situation in the Deccan was in his favour. Fol-

lowing the occupation of Vātāpi by the Pallavas and the resultant death of Pulakeśi-II, the Chālukya power itself was eclipsed for 13 years. The sons of Pulakeśi had taken refuge elsewhere. Consequently there was nobody to question the authority of the Rāshtrakutas in Northern Deccan. All the seven copperplates of the early Rāshtrakutas referred to above belong to this period. Rāshtrakuta Durgarāja was ruling in East Khandesh, Karkka Pratāpashila in the adjoining parts of Marathwada and Vidarbha; Davanadruhata was in charge of Western Vidarbha and Nannarāja Yuddhasūra administered the adjoining parts of Vidarbha and Madhya Pradesh. In none of these charters there is any reference to the Chālukya overlords. This shows that Northern Deccan had slipped away out of the control of the Chālukyas with the death of Pulakeśi-II which his successors could not recover completely. In Southern Gujarat where Chālukya Dharāshraya Jayasimha and his sons were ruling, the Rāshtrakutas made several attempts to destabilise the Chālukya power. Vajrata or Vijjada who had captured Lāta for some time during the reign of Vinayāditya was a Rāshtrakuta prince according to an inscription at Ajanta.[38] He probably belonged to the Malwa branch of the Rāshtrakutas which had migrated from the Deccan.[39] Following that incident Rāshtrakuta Indra, the father of Dantidurga raided the *Svayamvara Mandapa* at

Khetaka in Southern Gujarat and kidnapped the bride Bhavanāgā, the daughter of Chālukya Mangalarasa.[40] The overthrow of the Chālukyas of Vātāpi by Dantidurga was thus a formality for which the favourable background was prepared by the ancestors of Dantidurga which was initiated by Karkka Pratapashila.

ORIGINAL HOME OF THE RASHTRAKUTAS : On the basis of the epithets of Amoghavarsha-I as ' *Lattalurapuravarādhiśvara* Fleet and Altekar took Lattalura or Latur, a district headquarters in Maharashtra, as the original home-town of the Rāshtrakutas.[41] As a matter of fact this epithet was associated with only Amoghavarsha who flourished in the nineth century A.D. The seven copperplates of the early Rāshtrakuta kings referred to above come from Northern Maharashtra. The Bhindon and Khamkhed plates of Karkka Pratāpashila who was the direct ancestor of Amoghavarsha and Dantidurga come from the Aurangabad-Buldana region of Maharashtra. Even Altekar himself had stated that the ancestors of Dantidurga were ruling in the vicinity of Ellora.[42] It is therefore totally untenable to presume Latur as the original home of the Rāshtrakutas. On the contrary fresh epigraphic data clearly indicates that Ellora was not only the royal seat of the early Rāshtrakuta kings, but it was the original home town of the Imperial Rāshtrakutas. Following evidences

corroborate this presumption :

1. The Ellora charter of Dantidurga which was his earliest document; was issued from Elāpura i.e. Ellora district Aurangabad. In the grant portion of this charter he specifically records that he had permanently settled at Elāpura[43] (*Elapura vyavasthita*).

2. The Dashāvatāra cave inscription at Ellora, which was probably the latest inscription of Dantidurga, also suggests the same thing. In this inscription it is stated that a Gurjara king had come to see him there (at Ellora)[44]. It shows that Dantidurga was staying at Ellora. So it is certain that at least during the reign of Dantidurga Ellora was his royal seat.

3. Krishna's association with Ellora has been immortalised by the Kailasa cave temple at this place.[45] Most of the inscriptions of Dhruva-Dharāvarsha come from Northern Maharashtra. The Paithan plates of Govinda III, which is the earliest royal charter of this king was issued from his camp at Paithan which is very near from Ellora.[46] Govinda is said to have performed sacrifices at the Yajñashālā situated in the Kailasa cave temple at Ellora.[47] It follows that Ellora continued to be the royal seat of the early Rashtrakuta kings at least till the beginning of Govinda's reign i.e., at about 800 A.D.

4. Besides the Bhindon plates there are other inscriptions also which record the association of the ancestors of Dantidurga with Ellora. The Indargadh inscription from the Mandsore district of Madhya Pradesh has brought to light that this part was ruled over by a branch of the Rāshtrakuta family. The inscription was engraved by Rāshtrakuta Nanna and is dated 715 A.D. The inscription records the construction of a Shiva temple at Indargadh by Nanna which was named as Guhēśvara.[48] The association of God Guhēśvara with Ellora is well known and hence shows that the family of Nanna had migrated to M.P. from Ellora. The place name Indargadh, which is obviously after Nanna's ancestor's name also indicates the link of his family with the house of Dantidurga.

It is thus clear that the ancestors of Dantidurga had settled at Ellora and hence the town continued to be the royal seat of the early Rāshtrakuta kings. Govinda III felt the need to transfer it to further south partly due to the

southern expansion of the Rāshṭrakuṭa kingdom and partly due to the desire of the Rāshṭrakuta emperors to have their capital in the vicinity of Badami the Imperial seat of the Chalukyas of Vātapi. Govinda therefore transferred his capital from Ellora to Mayurakhaṇḍi (Morkhaṇḍi in the Bidar district of Karnataka) as borne by his nine charters issued from this place.[49] Mayurakhaṇḍi was not probably a suitable place and hence Amoghavarsha further seems to have transferred the Rāshṭrakuṭa capital from that place to Mānyakheṭa (Malkhed, in Gulburga district of Karnataka) at about 850 A.D.

as seen from his Tarsadi copperplate which is the earliest epigraph mentioning Mānyakheṭa as the capital.[50] During this transitory period Amoghavarsha probably tried other places also and Latur was probably one of them. It is also possible that even after the transfer of the royal seat to Mānyakheṭa, Amoghavarsha kept Laṭṭalura as his residential or secondary capital like Kandhar and Bodhan[51] and hence only his name is associated with Laṭṭalura. It follows that Ellora was the original home-town of the Imperial Rashtrakutas.

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14. REGNAL YEARS IN PANDYA AND KERALA INSCRIPTIONS

K.G. Krishnan

The Editor (Dr. S.P. Tewari) of the Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India (Vol. XVIII), 1992 has remarked 'To be able to meet the international standard, particularly in case of its publication and there too, its presentation and *contents*, a review of the whole matter is highly desirable. How best it could be done within the available resources of the Society is a moot point towards which we shall invite suggestions from all our members.' Taking up the question of contents we would like to offer a few suggestions. It will be good if it is possible to screen the papers to be presented in the conference beforehand by a committee of experts. If not, the papers may be allowed to be discussed threadbare in the conference when the proceedings may be recorded. The author of the paper may be required to refer to the points raised and record his answers and these may be included in the paper if it is published in the subsequent issue of the Journal. Of course it is open for anybody to subject the paper even after its publication to a critical appraisal and the results may be published thereafter. This procedure is likely to make contributors think twice before they present it, thus leading to not only the limitation of papers for the conference but also to the pruning of such papers to the required standard. More about it later.

Presently in the same vein we present here a critique of the paper 'Perumpaludur Inscription of Karunandadakkan' by Shri. V. Manmathan Nair, published in the above Journal (p. 48). In the absence of an illustration for the inscription we reserve our comments on the reading of the text elsewhere limiting our observation here to line 7 which would read '*arisi olukkamidu attuvichchudu*' referring to the offering of *amidu haviś* i.e. rice prepared properly *(olukku)*. We will deal here with the author's observation on the dating in the record. He has quoted the Annual Report for 1961-62 in so far as the proposed possibility of the identities of two kings bearing the same name Karunandadakkan on the fact that one and the same regnal year will never be quoted in respect of one king both in single date like 10 and also in double dates like 2+8. Palaeography cited in support can never be the criterion in this case even as the interval between the two kings is less than twenty-five years. The author has said that 'the statement is not correct'.

The author has drawn our attention to the instance of Vikramaditya Varaguna's two inscriptions dated in the year 4 opposite to the 17th year and in the 28th year. We agree with the author that the king in both the records are the same because the king's name is the same and also because

the former is dated in the 21st (17+4) year and the latter in the 28th year. This is as it should be.

But the instance discussed in the Report is not similar. One record from Perumbaludur is dated in the 10th year in the reign of Karunandadakkan. The others from Tiruvidaikkōdu are dated in the 2+12th and 2+20th regnal years in the reign of Karunandadakkan. The Report states that the two kings, even though they bear the same name, cannot be identical because if he is the same king all the records should have been dated in regnal years with the base year 2. Hence the statement is made that the single date of 10th year belongs to a different Karunandadakkan who may be a grandson or grandfather of the one or the other. The question of palaeography does not arise.

This brings into focus the problem of understanding double dates in the regnal years of Pandya and Kerala kings. There are numerous records available for discussion. But we will confine to only two instance leaving the rest for other scholars to continue the study.

Nearly all the important inscriptions of *Cholantalaikonda* Vīrapāndya have been published. His inscriptions begin quoting the base years two, four, thirteen and fifteen.

2+1 12;   4+3 13;   4+4 13+1;

4+5 15;   4+7 15+4;   15+5;

These are listed and published in *SII*, XIV, 'Index, p.xxxvii. It will be seen from this list that while there is no doubt about the identity of the kings whose name is given uniformly alike except in the first when the event of the beheading of the Chōla in a battlefield had not happened, the dating is given with basic years 2, 4, 13 and 15. Where a single date is given it is exclusive of the basic year and the dates 12, 13 or 15 are not given as 4+8, 4+9 or 4+11. Thus while it is true that different modes of dating are available in the records of the same king, single dates are exclusive of the basic year.

Another instance is that of the inscriptions of kings bearing the name of Chadaiyavarman Kulasēkharapāndya. The poetical preambles of the kings are different thus helping us to sort them out. Regarding regnal years we will make the detailed tabular statement given in *Ep. Ind*, XXV, pp. 79-80 concise so that we will be to the point. The clusters of double dates are:

I 2+1, 3+1+1, 4+1, 4+1+1, 4+4; 9, 9+1, 4, 15

II 2, 3, 3+7

III 2, 3, 3+1, 3+4, 9, 9+3, 13, 13+15.

It will be seen that there is seldom any clash between double dates and the single dates.

The problem of explaining the rationale behind the use of double dates remains. None of the inscriptions gives a clue on the question. We can only say that some event, may be any, must have influenced the reckoning. It may be, the accession of a junior, the birth of a prince, a significant victory etc. We do not get any information on anyone of these.

We would now like to draw the attention of scholars to the dates of medieval Pandyas of the second empire from about 1020 A.D. to 1342 A.D. as given by Sri. N. Sethuraman on the contents page of his Tamil book 'Pāṇḍiyar Varalāṟu. A glance through the list will show that time brackets given for many kings overlap each other. A close study is yet to be made whether the basic years have anything to do with the accession of more than one king at a time during the reign of the seniormost among them. While it is difficult to postulate a solution at this stage, it is definitely possible that one of the events listed in the previous section could have marked out the basic years.

Finally most of the inscriptions of Kerala deserve our attention. The well-known case of more than one king bearing the name Bhaskara Ravivarman in north Kerala resting on the double dates in their regnal years is arresting our attention. We can do no better than urge the young scholar of Kerala Shri. Manmathan Nair to take up the study of this subject also.

15. A SEALING OF THE SACRED IMPORT

Amarendra Nath

Considerable number of sigillographic data have come to light from the Satavahana levels at Adam, Taluk Kuhi, District Nagpur.[1] These have been classified under seal, signet, and sealing, out of which sealing out numbers the first two categories. Under the sealing category, there are examples of inscribed and uninscribed varieties which might have been utilised either as identity passes or mark of authentication to some documents or consignments. The one being discussed here falls under a different category of sacred import (Fig. a & b).

The terracotta sealing in question was obtained from Trench No. 0.6/1 laid on the northern slope, close to the south-eastern corner of the main entrance leading to the enclosed habitation. It was found in a good state of preservation from layer three at a depth of forty centimetres. Prepared out of fine levigated clay in planoconvexed shape (20 mm x 13 mm), the sealing is evenly fired to brick red colour. The semicircular surface of the clay lump bears cloth and finger impressions of prefiring stage, when it was pressed against the seal matrix. The flat face of it, embossed with circular incuse (diametre 14 mm) has three segments. It is further compartmentalized to accommodate the four auspicious symbols, two each figuring in the upper and lower segments.

The four triangular corners, formed due to compartmentalizations, are filled either with vertical or curved linear bands. The first symbol of *svastika*, in the upper left compartment, is an elaboration of the equal armed cross, but with arms bent to right. A combination of *su*(well) *asti*(is)*ka* (noun ending) signifies well being, fortune, luck, success and prosperity. It occurs in the beginning as mark of salutation. Also, the interjection *svasti* is used before and after pronouncing the sacred syllable *Oṁ*, and during sacrificial ceremonies. Next to it figures a stumpy trigular-headed standard or *Indra-dhvaja*, errected in reverence to Indra, the rain god. In the lower left compartment occur *Śrī-vatsa* i.e. favourite of Śrī, name of Vishnu. It is often shown on the centre of the chest as one of the stigmatas or marks of the great ones. It can be noticed on images of Vishnu and his incarnations, Buddha and the Jain *tīrthankaras*. Besides this, it occurs as one of the lunar asterisms in astronomical context, and it is also the name of eighth *Yōga.*, i.e. the union of soul with the matter. Fourth symbol, on the lower right compartment, may be recognised as *tri-ratna* a Buddhist sign signifying Buddha, *dhamma* and *saṅgha*, or as *nandipāda*, 'the feet of the happy one'. Nandi is synonym of lord Vishnu and Śiva,

and also figures as names of Gandharva and Śiva-gaṇa.

Almost identical disposal of tetrad symbols with different legend (*Kanhasa*) can be noticed on an ivory seal reported from the Śātavāhana horizons at Nevasa.[2] Conspicuously, in Nevasa example, all the symbols are laid horizontally; however, the first device of *svastika* of cross format may, deceptively, be perceived in order. The bottom left device (in the positive) shows a pair of hooded serpents, assumed as '*srīvatsa* (Fig. c). A number of variants in its representation have been noticed, such as circular, *svastika*-shaped, floral, or polygonal, formed by a curl of hair, or a mole. However, the one noted in the ivory seal is of unusual variety. Nevertheless, the overall distribution of the symbols and legend compare well with the Adam sealing which suggest an identical import with two different invocations.

Adverting to the sealing from Adam, the central segment contains a single lined legend consisting of four characters of the central Indian variety of early Brāhmī when the serif of nail-headed type was in formative period. Relatively, the characters, in bold relief, are more squarish (2 mm) than oblong, interspaced at regular interval of over one milimetre. With regard to the articulations of the characters, the attention is drawn to letter *da*. It is of sigmoid-type with an oblique strock attached to its lower part. Generally it is noted other way round in most of the contemporary epigraphical sources. The box-like *ba* is of perfect square type purporting an early date. Palaeographically, the characters may be assigned to *circa* 50 A.D. to 100 A.D. The legend as such reads: *abadasa*. The inherent meaning of the legend, in a wider perspective, may be more than one. Let us speak of all the different cannotations in order to pick up the one which is, relatively, viable in the present context.

A. *abadasa*: '*abdasa*': i) of year; like '*satābda* or *prābda*[3] ii) of rains[4] iii) Persian rendering *abdar-khana*, *abdar-khanah* synonym of *nira-griha*.[5]

B. *abadasa*: '*avadyasya*': 'One of the unblamable' i.e. one who is free from blemishes.[6]

Keeping in view the auspicious nature of the sealing we may justify those cannotations pertaining to water or rain. In Indian mythology water is regarded as one of the five elements *(pañca-bhūta)* purporting its corporeal importance. On the other hand, the rain god Indra has been invoked in Vedic prayers and hymns more than ones. In later centuries, it is noted that the worship of Indra gets further personified to the erection of a pole raised in his honour; also called *Indra-dhvaja, Indra-daṇḍa Śakra-dhvaja* etc. Incidentally, the depiction of *Indra-dhvaja* in the upper right compartment of the sealing, analogously contributes to the proposed rendering of the legend. However, no other symbol

substantiate to the meaning of *abda* as water or rain.

Curiously enough, *abda-pūjā* finds reference in the Howraghat Plates of Balavarman III of Kāmrūpa. The occassion of the grant was the *abda-pūjā* performed in connection with the *Śakr-ōtthāna* festival observed on the 12th day of the bright half of the months of *Praushṭhapada* (*Bhādra*) and *Āśvina*. Here *abda-pūjā* may refer either to the anniversary of King Balavarman's birth or accession to the throne, or merely to the 'annual worship' of the *Śakra-dhvaja*.[7]

It may not be out of place to mention that to ward off water famine the Islam too has provision of special congregational prayers organised in the dried up agricultural land, such prayers are called *Namāz-i-īstisqā* (i.e. "offering up public prayers for rains').[8]

Above inferences draw attention to some of the rituals performed with regard to rain and to ward off water famine. The Adam sealing and Nevasa seal matrix forms a category by itself - one invokes the lord of *abda* or *mēgha*, the other Krishna, an incarnation of Lord Vishṇu. Some scholars may take these symbols as part of royal insignia and associate the legend with some chiefs of the Satavahana times. In the present context such postulations may appear ephemeral. As there is no authentic epigraphical or numismatic data to establish the present Krishṇa in

the genealogical perspective of the Satavahanas. Moreover, it occurs in other epigraphical contexts as personal names of donors and artisans, and also as names of river, mountain and place.

In the ultimate analysis, both the examples discussed here are of pious adoption, in which the legends are disposed prominently in the central segment while the sanctified devices, occuring over and below it, are palpable to theological concepts. Like the Graeco-Roman chronogram of the late medieval period with an expression of: *Lord haVe MerCIe Vpon Vs*, the sigillographic data from Adam and Nevasa infer on the same lines, a common mode of seeking transcendental bliss.

Further comparison of these examples may be made with the format of a *maṇḍala*, a symbolical diagram usually bounded by a circle. Some of the symbols like *svastika* and *śrīvatsa*, as noted above, have esoteric ramifications as well. These assorted devices may be taken as consecrated ones enclosed within a space and separated from each other by profane partitions. It may represent the heavenly abode of the personified ones. The legends in each case may be held as a potent centre of psychic energy. In case the above analogy is accepted by the scholars in the field, these two discussed here would be one of the earliest representations of the *maṇḍala*.
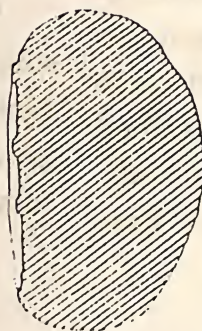
Finally, the question arises as to why

the same set of four symbols occur with two different legends, one invoking Indra and the other Kṛishṇa. Is it to assert Kṛishṇa's divine authority over Indra narrated in the traditions like *Harivaṁśa*[9] and *Vishnu Purāṇa*,[10] etc. Perhaps the traditional reproachment of Krishna and Indra led the followers of the two sects in selecting the order of occurrence of these four symbols on such objects as described here to justify their sectarian affiliations. In the sequel, it is interesting to note here that *Indra-dhvaja* and *nandi-pāda*, the diagnostic symbols associated with Indra and Krishna (Vishnu) respectively, inter change compartment of occurrence in order to suit the invocation in each case (fig. a & c).

Seemingly, these were issued under some sectarian authorities of the Satavahana times. On the palaeographic grounds Adam example preceds its prototype discovered at Nevasa.
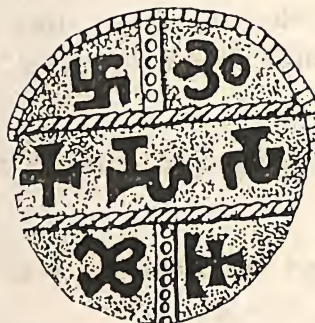
References :

1. The site was excavated by a team of the Excavations Branch (I) Nagpur of the Archaeological Survey of India under the leadership of the present author. For an archaeological chronology of the site see his "Adam - An index to Vidarbha Archaeology", *New Trends in Indian Art and Architecture*, Felicitation to Dr. S.R. Rao, on his 70th Birthday, (ed.) N.C. Ghosh and U.B. Nayak (Panaji, 1992), 69-79.

2. H.D. Sankalia *et al*, *From History to Prehistory at Nevasa* (1954-56), (Poona, 1960) 202-203, Fig. 171 Nos, 1 and 4.

3. Lionel D. Barnett "Lakshmeshwar Inscription of the reign of Vikramaditya VI: A.D. 1081", *Epigraphia Indica (EI)*, 32, 287.

4. Raja Radhakantadeva Bahadur, (tr.) *Sabdakalpadrumah* (Delhi, 1961) 71.

5. D.C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, (Delhi, 1966), 217.

6. I am thankful to Prof. Ajay Mitra Shastri of Nagpur University for suggesting the above rendering.

7. D.C. Sircar, "Howraghat Plates of Balavarman III of Kamrupa, year 5", *EI*, 32, 287.

8. F. Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary* (New Delhi, 1981), 52. I am thankful to Shri. S.S. Hussain, Assistant Superintending Epigraphist, Nagpur, for this reference.

9. M.N. Datta (tr.) *Harivaṁśa* (Calcutta 1897), Ch. 74, v. 25, 20-21.

10. H.H. Wilson (tr.) *The Vishnu Purāṇa* (Calcutta 196 1) V, 422-23. I am thankful to Shri. L.S. Rao, Deputy Superintending Archaeologist, Nagpur, for the reference.

Figure

b

c

16. BRAHMA CHALUKYA INSCRIPTION OF SANGAMESVARA SAKA 1181

N.N. Swamy

The copper plate charter[1] edited below was secured from the Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Bombay, Maharashtra State. The exact find spot is however not known. The charter consists of three copper plates of which the second plate is engraved on both the sides, on the top of each plate is a hole for a ring to pass through. The three plates are strung together on a copper ring which however is not now joined together, is not known whether the two ends of above ring were soldered over to the back of any seal, if at all it existed. The outer sides of plates I and III do not bear any writing and the text engraved on four remaining sides. The first plate contains 14 lines, while the second has on its obverse and reverse 30 lines i.e., 15 each. The last plate has 17 lines. Thus runs into 59 lines in all.

The writing has been executed deeply and neatly and the rims of the plates have been slightly raised to protect the writings.

The language of the record is Sanskrit and the characters are of early Nāgarī. The palaeographical features of the record are regular for the period to which they belong. Among the orthographical peculiarities, attention may be drawn to the fact that uniform procedure is observed in not doubling consonants immediately following r and later ḷ is not at all used in the record.

The charters belong to the reign of mahārājādhirāja Saṅgameśvara, who claims to have belonged to the Brahma Chālukya family and described as ruling from Kalyāṇapura.

It is dated on the first day in the bright half of the month Vaiśāka in the Śaka year 1181, while the cyclic year was Siddhārthi and the week day was Monday and regularly corresponds to 1259 A.D. Feb. 24. The lunar month was however Adhika Chaitra.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of the village Āsaravāḍe free from all imposts and as *sarva namasya* for feeding the Brāhmaṇas on *Vishu-Saṅkrāti-parva*.

The charter begins with the auspicious word *svasti* followed by the date already mentioned above. Then the king Saṅgameśvara is introduced, who is endowed with a plesthora of epithets: *mahārājādhirāja, parameśvara Brahma Chālukya-Vaṁśodbhava, Chālukya-kula kamala, Kalikāla vikāsa-Bhāṣkara, suvarṇa-vārāha-lāñchchana dhvaja, satya-ratnākara, śaraṇāgata-vajra paṁjara, ārtratrāṇa parāyaṇa,*

dinānātha-samuddharaṇa, maryādā mahōdadhi, para-nārī-sahōdara, śauchagāṁgēya, ājñārāma, pratijñā paraśurāma, ēkāṁgavīra, raṇa-raṅgadhīra, nirbhaya-malla, sāhasōttuṅga, mahāmāhēśvara Śrī kēdāra-dēva-charaṇa-kamala-prasādam = ārādhana = upachārat = avāpta, paramarājyēśvara, apratihata = atyantam = atikīrti pratāpa prasara, raṇa=raṅga nāṭikā sūtradhāra, rāya-dharaṇī-varāha-rāya, bēṭakāra ripu-rāya sāhasa-malla. The prominent among the epithets being *mahā-mahēśvara* and *sauchagāṅgēya*. The description of the king abruptly stops here and a person by name, Bappadēvarāya is introduced. However, he is not endowed with a title mahārāja. On the other hand, he is described as having obtained the kingship (*para-rājyēśvara*) by worshipping a certain Kēdāra-dēva. This may indicate that Bappadēvarāya was probably a chief under the Brāhma chālukya king Saṅgamēśvara and Kēdara-dēva was probably his father. The chief Bappadēvarāya credited with epithets which include Sāhasamalla, Bēṇtakāra etc.

Further the inscription proceeds to state that in the presence of the deity Kēdāradēva, on the occasion of the syncronism of *Vishuva saṁkrānti* and *amāvāsya*, a grant of the village Āsaraḍavāḍa was given by way of a charter addressed to the *mahājanas* which included the *prabhu-mukhyas*, evidently of the granted village along with grove of trees for feeding the Brāhmaṇas on the day specified above.

The grant was made free from all encumberances and imposts and given as *sarvanamasya*. This is followed by the usual imprecatory verse. The copper plate charter was written by Gōvinda. The charter concludes with benediction *maṅgala mahā śrī.*

The importance of the record lies in the fact that it discloses for the first time a king by name Saṅgamēśvara said to belong to the family of Brahma Chalukyas and ruling from Kalyāṇapura. In the absence of the actual findspot of the charter and difficulty in correctly identifying the capital city Kalyāṇapura from where he was ruling, it has not been possible to say anything positively over the region over which he ruled. The description of his emblem having a standard of boar (*varāha lāñchhana*) indicates that the Brahma Chālukya family to which he belongs was probably allied to the imperial Kalyāṇa of Chālukya family whose emblem was also boar. The above surmise is purely conjectural. The chief Bappadēvarāya too is known to us for the first time from the present record.

His title benṭakāra is interesting and it reminds one of the famous title worn by the Vijayanagar king i.e., *Gajabēṭekāra.* The title beṭakāra is not strictly Sanskritic origion and from this title one can safely conjecture that the chief was ruling over some region either in Karnataka or Andhra State.

The inscription is however sailent on the relationship that existed between Bappadēvarāya and Saṅgamēśvara, is equally not explicit as to who issued the grant. From the imperfect grant portion, it is tempting to conjucture that the grant of the village was made by Bappadēvarāya probably with the consent of the imperial king Saṅgamēśvara.

The expression *Vishuva-Samkrānti parva* is also interesting. From the Indian Ephemeries, it can be seen that on February 24 year 1259 A.D., both a *Sankrānti* and Amavāsya occured on the same day, but the term *vishuva-samkrānti* is applied only to former occasion on which the Sun traverses from one rāsi to another *viz; Tulā, Makara, Mēsha* and *Kārkāṭaka, Samkramaṇās*

On the day mentioned in the charter the Sun moved actually from Kumbha rāśi to Mina-rāśi possibly in the present charter, the expression *Vishu* was applied to the monthly phenomenum of Sun's movement from one rāshi to another which herald the end and beginning of the solar months.

The village Āsarvāḍa cannot be identified since there is no mention of the *Vishaya* or *maṇḍala* in which it was situated or the names of the villages that bordered it.

TEXT[2]

First Plate reverse

1 Ṣvasti Śrī śaka 1181 varsha Siddharthi sam

2 vatsare chaitra Śuddha1 Somē adhyēsha Śrī

3 matu Samgamēśvara mahā-rājādhirā -

4 ja paramēśvara Kalyāṇa pura -

5 varādhīśvara Brahma-Chālukya vamsō -

6 dbhava Chālukya kula kamala ka -

7 likā vikāsa Bhāskara suva -

8 rṇa vārāha lāñchchana dhvaja satya

9 ratnākara śaraṇāgata vajra

10 *paṁjara ārtratrāṇa parāyaṇa*

11 *dīnānātha samuddharaṇa maryā -*

12 *dā mahōdadhi paranārī sa -*

13 *hōdara śaucha gāṁgēya | ā -*

14 *jñārāma patijñā para -*

Second Plate obverse

15 *sa(śu)rāma | ēkāṁga vīrarṇa -*

16 *raṁga dhīra | nirbhayamalla sāhaso -*

17 *ttuṁga | mahāmāhēśvara | kedā -*

18 *ra dēva charaṇa kamala prasāda -*

19 *nārādhanopachārādavāpta para -*

20 *ma rāyjēśvara | apratihatātyaṁ*

21 *tamatō kīrti pratāpa prasara |*

22 *raṇaraṁga nāṭikā sūtradhāra | rā*

23 *ya dharaṇī varāha rāya beṭakā -*

24 *ra ripurāya sāhasamalla | śrī*

25 *Bapappadevarāya | attraiva | Śrī prabhu*

26 *mukhya mahājanasya śrāsanaṁ praya -*

27 *chchati yathā | Śri Kedāra dēva*

28 *saṁnidhau vishuva saṁkrāntipa -*

Second Plate reverse

29 *varṇi | paramayā bhakyā mahā-dhā -*

30 *rmikeṇa bhu[k*]tvā Āsaravāḍi grā -*

31 *maṁ savriksha mālākula sopa*

32 *ri karadaṁḍa dosha mārga(ē)ṇa sahitaṁ*

33 *sarvabhyaṁtara siddhāya saha | saṁkrāṁ -*

34 *tī | brāhmaṇa bhōjanartha[ṁ*] | prabhu mu -*

35 *khya maha(ā)janasya hastodaka pū*

36 *rveṇa sarvanamasya dātavyaṁ | grā -*

37 *moyamātranvaya saṁbhūta rājñā*

38 *apareṇa vā dhārmikeṇa bhū -*

39 *tvā pālanīya | yathā dānāśrē -*

40 *ya bhūpāla kopi bhavishyati |*

41 *Bahubhir=vasudhā bhuktā rajabhiḥ*

42 *Sagar-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya*

Third Plate obverse

43 *yadā bhūmiḥ=tasya tasya tadā*

44 *phalaṁ(lam) | [|*] Sva-datta(ttāṁ) para-dattaṁ(ttāṁ)=vā yō haretya (ta)*

45 *vasuṁdharā[m*]|\ Shasttir=varsha Sahasrāni Vishṭā*

46 *yāṁ jāyate krimiḥ| Krimi yoniṁ ta -*

47 *to gatvā chāṅdalēshsvēva jāyate|*

48 *Hiraṇyamēkaṁ grā[mē]p kaṁ bhūmyam=*

49 *apy=ēkaṁ=aṁgulaṁ(m)| Haraṁ narakam-āyāṁti*

50 *yavad=āhṛita saṁplavām[‖*] na vishaṁ visha*

51 *mityāhuḥ brahmasvaṇ visham-uchyate|*

52 *Visham-ēkākinām(naṁ) hanti brahmasvaṁ*

53 *tra-pautrikaṁ(kaṁ) | [1*] Mad vaṁśa-jātaḥ para-vaṁ -*

54 *śa-jāta[ḥ*]| pāpād-apēta manasō-bhuvi*

55 *vibhārā-bhūtāḥ | yē pālayaṁti ma -*

56 *-ma-dharmam=idaṁ hi tēbhyō maya*

57 *virachitāṁjali-murdhni rēshā‖*

58 *Śrī Gōviṁdēna likhyate | Maṁga -*

59 *-la mahē(ā)śrīḥ [‖*]*

References :

1.   *A.R.* Ep. 1985-86 App. A. No.

2.   From impressions & photograph, write the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), ASI, Mysore.

3.   Written below the line in small characters

First plate, reverse

Third plate.

Second plate. obverse.

Second plate. reverse.

A. Theva Rajan

The Tamil language is an indigenous and as old as the Sinhalese language in Śrī Laṅka. It is neigther alien nor an alien's language.

The earliest lithic records in the Brāhmī script datable to at least the 3rd century B.C. bear testimony to the fact that the Tamil language was in use in this country at that time. Incidentally, no evidence of the use of any other language or script prior to this period has surfaced thus far. Even the modern Sinhala and Tamil scripts are developments from the original Brāhmī script. Of course, current Sinhala script also manifests the influence of the Pallava Grantha script.[1]

Brāhmī was used universally from Denavara i.e., present-day Devinuwara or Dondra Head) to the borders of Afghanistan in India and even beyond in the shores of the Red sea in Egypt and parts of the Soviet Union bordering West Asia. This had facilitated the spread of culture and commerce in this region during the material time.[2] The early Brāhmī of Śrī Laṅka is identical with the South Indian Brāhmī which Bühler called Drāviḍi on the strength of the Bhaṭṭiprōlu (Āndhra) find, also found in ancient Pāṇḍyaṇ kingdom,[3] which is now called the Tamil-Brāhmī.[4] The Tamil Brāhmī is considered older than Aśokan.[5] The Srī Laṅkan Brāhmī takes the Aśokan form only from 1st century A.D.[6]

The language of the earliest Brāhmī inscriptions of Śrī Laṅka is generally called Prakrit. Prakrit simply means any old language and does not denote any particular language. Wilhelm Geiger calls it the Sinhala Prakrit whereas Senarat Paranavitane calls it the "old Sinhalese". But one fact which has been ignored by them is the presence of Tamil names and Tamil words in these inscriptions. The Tamil words *Perumakaṇ*, Perumakaḷ, Marumakaṇ, Kāviti, Abi, etc., Tamil names like Śiva, Yaśopāla, Gōpāla etc. and names of Tamil social groups or clans like Utiyan, Āys, Vēḷs, Barata, Nāga, etc. show that the language is atleast a mixture of Tamil (or a Dravidian or proto-Dravidian) language. The influence of Tamil even on linguistic aspects has been shown by Veluppillai.[7] Ragupathy has explained the meanings of a number of words in these inscriptions from Tamil or Dravidian roots and has suggested that there could have been a common base - a proto - Dravidian language.[8] You find these in Tamil classical literature of the Saṅgam period.

The Tamils have played a vital role

in social, religious and political affairs of the country even from pre-Christian times. At Anurādhapura there is the "Tamil Householders Terrace Inscription" in Brāhmī script datable between 3rd and 1st century B.C. It says: "The terrace of the Tamil Householders caused to be made by the Tamil Samara, residing at Ila. Bharata". Commenting on this Paranavitane observed,[9] "this inscription proves that the stone terrace was the common property of the Tamil Householders of ancient Anuradhapura and was probably used as their assembly hall .... The platform on which it is inscribed is also one of the earliest examples of the earliest stone work of the Tamil people and the monument therefore deserves the notice of Indian archaeologists." Another inscription in early Brāhmī datable to 2nd century B.C. and found at Thalgahagoda Vihare on a flight of steps in Matale says that the Tamil Bikkhu donated the cave to the Mahā Saṅga.[10] It is no secret that some of the earliest Buddhist literatures of Śrī Laṅka were written by Tamil Buddhist monks. Tamil contribution to Buddhism in India and Śrī Laṅka is significant.

The kings of the Sinhalese kingdoms have themselves caused inscriptions to be engraved in Tamil, while some of them have Tamil words. In the 10th century A.D. Kassapa V has engraved two inscriptions[12] - one, the Ataviragollava pillar inscription and the other the Ra-

jamāligāwa pillar inscription,[11] for instance have Tamil names and words like Lokanātha(n), Mekāppar, Muraṇḍu, and Perenāṭṭu. Also there is a mention of a village called Velangama. This refers to a village of the Vēḷs. Velan is inscribed on a potsherd in Brāhmī found at Poonagari[12] in the mainland of Northern Śrī Laṅka.[13] Some of the inscriptions of Mahinda IV of the 10th century A.D. has Tamil words Viyal (Vayal), Nel, Veli, Varian, Nattiyam, Mekāppar, etc. Mahinda IV decreed[14] "In all the places irrigated by the tank, the distribution of water shall be utilized for this Vihare only, in accordance with ancient customs in vogue formerly during the Tamil period (of rule)". Perhaps this Vihare too was built by Tamils. Some of these inscriptions have names of land allotments beginning with Demel (Tamil) like Demele' - kuli, Demel - hetihaya, etc. These refer to land allotments given to Tamil settlements. Referring to this Indrapala saya[15]: "The element Demel is these names obviously indicates some association with Tamils. They denote Tamil settlements in those places. Finally, it should be noted that it is not a pure coincidence that Tamil inscriptions of the eleventh century have been found not far from some of the Tamil allotments. Tamil lands and villages associated with the collection of Demala - Kuli are mentioned in the tenth century Sinhalese inscriptions."

The influence of Tamil on the inscrip-

tions was not confined to the Brāhmī inscriptions alone. Even in later Sinhalese inscriptions, you find Tamil words like Viyal (Vayal), Nel, Veli, Varian, Nattiyam, Mekāppar, Parumar, Varumar, Kuli, Velan, Muraṇḍu, Perenāṭṭu, etc. These have parallels in the inscriptions of South India.

A Tamil inscription in Anurādhapura speaks of a donation made by the Nankunattar mercantile guild to a Buddhist temple called Mākkōthaipaḷḷi. This inscription is dated to 9th or early 10th century A.D.[16] At the bottom of it is a Veṇbā verse which reads:
"Pōdi niḷal-amarnda puṇṇiyaṇpōl-
                                    evvuyirkkun
tti arual - surakkuñ - chindaiyāṇ - ādi
varudaṇmañ-kuṇṟāda Mādavaṇ-mākkōdai
                        y - orudarma pālaṇuḷaṇ"

Indrapala says that there is a place called Thiruvañchikkuḷam or Mākkōthai in the Cochin District of Kērala. He also refers to the Chēra king Mākkōthai and suggests that this temple could have been named after the place or the king. This is the earliest verse in Tamil found in Śrī Laṅka.

Two Tamil inscriptions found among the Hindu ruins of Anurādhapura refer to donations made to Hindu temples - one of which refers to the donation to a Murugaṇ temple. The names in these inscriptions have also been dated to 9th or 10th century A.D. The languages of the

three inscriptions, especially those relating to Hindu temples show "the usage of grammatically pure Tamil."[17]

Two Tamil inscriptions in Grantha script have been recently located in the Jetavanaramaya in Anurādhapura.[18] These refer to donations to this Buddhist shrine. This also may be dated to 9th or 10th century A.D. The name Narendra Ratna Jayawallabha Rayar suggests Pallava connection.

The Dellegama Dewala inscription in N.C.P. is in Tamil and Sinhalese.[19]

An inscription of Uttama Chōḷa in Tamil datable to 11th or 12th century A.D. is found at the Atakada Vihare. This refers to grants made by the king to a Śiva temple called Uttama Chōḷa Īśuaram situated at Kadave Korale in the North Central Province.[20] A Tamil inscription of the 12th century ascribed to Jayabāhu I found at Kirindigama in the Amparai District refers to grants made to a Brahmin village.[21] An inscription in Tamil verse of the 12th century found in Siva Devale No. 3 in Padaviya refers to worship of *Foot Mark* in Padaviya.[22] The verse is as follows :
"Uttamar taṅ Kōyil valakaḷi eṇalum
nitta niyamam neṟivaḷar
chittamuḍaṇ śir = iḷamai sērnda
padiyil viṇayāramba pēr-iṇamaiyārttugaḷ
pōdāv āyiraṅ koṇḍuuraippār tiru -
kūttam = āga muyaṇṟāṇ muyaṇṟa tiru"

Another inscription in Tamil verse ascribed to Śrī Niśśaṅkamalla found at Panduwasnuwara in the North Western Province (Kurunegala District) was assigned to the 12th century by K. Kanapathipillai.[23] But K.G. Krishnan dates it in the 13th century.[24] The text of the Tamil inscription is as follows :

"Teṇṇilaingaik - kōṇ Parākkiramabāgu

nissaṅgamallaṛki yāṇd-añjiṛ

Diṇakaraṇ suṛavi vaṇaindavat - Taiyil -

Uttiraṭṭāti ēlpakkam

Poṇṇavaṇ diṇa naṛ-śāta-yōgattil ūrtaru

pōdi mādavar tam

poṛpamar kōyil Muṇivar ālayam teṇaraṇ

tigaḷ śālaiyuñ śēyittam

aṇṇavai tigaḷa aivarkaṇḍaṇ vaṇupēri Ilaṅ

gai adikāri alagude puyaṇ

Teṇ-parākramaṇ mēṇaichchaṇavi nātaṇ

Tiruppiyaraṇ

maṇṇiya śirappil malitarum - alagār

Parākrama - adikārip - pirivaṇa vaḷartara

amaittāṇ śrīpura - nagariḷ madimāṇ

pañcharaṇ magiḷude"

This refers to the construction by Niśśaṅkamalla of "a Buddhist temple, a monastery for monks, an alms Hall, a Chaitya, and a College called Parākrama Atikari Privena."

Another Tamil inscription of the 14th century in verse found at Kotagama in the Kegalle District speaks of the victory of Singai Aryan, the Ārya Chakaravarti of the Jaffna Kingdom.[25] The verse in Tamil is as follows :

"Sētu,

kaṅgaṇamver kaṇṇiṇaiyāṛ Rāṭṭiṇār

kāmarvaḷaip -

pangaiyakkai meṛṛilagam pārittar-poṅkō-

linirś-

Śiṅgainagar-āriyaṇaich-Chērāvan urēśan

taṅgaḷ maḍamādar tām"

Based on these Tamil inscriptions, in verse of different metric forms, Veluppillai argues that there was a highly developed Tamil literary tradition in Śrī Laṅka.[26] For such a tradition to develop, there must have been a long usage of the language.

The Lankatilake inscriptions are significant. Sidy by side with the Sinhalese inscriptions, the Tamil inscriptions have been caused to be indited by Bhuvanēka Bāhu IV and Vickrema Bāhu III. Tamil inscriptions refer to grants made to Buddhist and Hindu Temples.[27]

Another interesting inscription is the Galle Trilingual inscription in Chinese, Persian and Tamil. This was caused to be indited by a Chinese King of the 15th century. The Tamil inscription refers to donations made to a Śiva temple and a Vishṇu Temple - the Tēnāvarai-nayaṇār and Tenāvarai-āḷvār.[28] The Vishṇu Temple is still in existence at Devinuwara although the ruins of the massive structure remind us of its past magnificence. It was destroyed by the Portuguese. There was also a Śiva temple in the same area but there is no trace of the old site as yet.

There are a number of other Tamil in-

scriptions indited by Sinhalese and Tamil kings. Table I gives in brief a few of them. This testifies to the fact that the Tamil language has been used by even kings of the Sinhalese kingdoms. The Śrī Laṅkan territory was in the main fragmented and various kings held sway over various parts. These Tamil inscriptions spread over the entirety of Śrī Laṅka convey two things. The kings conveyed their messages in the language of the people and that Tamils lived throughout Śri Laṅka, at least in small concentrations. However, the absence of Tamil inscriptions does not mean absence of Tamil settlements. It has been noted that these inscriptions speak of donations to Buddhist and Hindu temples. This shows the religious and linguistic equality advocated by the kings. It only epitomizes the high culture and civilized outlook of the ancient kings, and of course the people. It marks the absence of hatred - the corner stone of true and vibrant democracy.

The inscriptional evidence is supported by literary evidence as well. We have information from various literary sources that Tamil was learnt by choice in Pirivenas and most members of the Clergy, scholars and laymen were learned in the Tamil language.

Some works on the position of Tamil during various periods of Śrī Laṅkan history as revealed by literary sources have been published.[29]

King Parākramabāhu IV of the 14th century had a monk of Chōḷa origin as his tutor. He built a temple at Vidagama in the Raigam Korale of the Kalutara District and donated it to this monk. Mahāvaṁśa refers to this.[30]

Kariyawasam makes the following observations with regard to the furtherance of Tamil influence on Sinhala literature.[31]

"It is possible that from this time onwards Tamil assumed greater importance in this land. Tamil poems were studied in the Pirivenas. The Pali Jatakatthakatha was translated into Sinhalese under the guidance of this Cholian monk. This work contains many words and even constructions of Tamil origin.

During the time of King Parākramabāhu VI (1412-67 A.D.) too, the study and cultivation of Tamil received much encouragement. This king had many connections with the Tamils. His Chief Minister was a Tamil Prince from Kēraḷa, Nannūrtuṇaiyar who married Ulakuḍaidēvī, his daughter. Prince Sapumal or Seṅbagapperumāḷ and his younger brother, Prince of Ambulugala, adopted sons of the same king, were children born to a Sinhalese princess married to a Tamil prince from Chōḷa. Prince Sapumal ascended the throne of Kotte under the title of Bhuvanēkabāhu VI (1468-74 A.D.) and Ambulugala too reigned at Kotte, under the title of Vīra Parākramabāhu VIII (1484-1509 A.D.).

"The King's chaplains during this time were Tamils again. King Parakramabahu VI's tutor and benefactor Maha Vidagama there, became the head of the Vidagama temple after the demise of the Cholian monk. This monk, who according to tradition was tutor to the famous Sri Rahula Sangharaja of Totagamuva Vijayaba. Pirivena (another adopted son of King Parakramababu VI) must have been a Tamil scholar, having been heir to a Tamil tradition. Both Sri Rahula Thera and Vidagama Maitreya Thera, no doubt, knew Tamil well. Pancika Pradipaya of Sri Rahula Thera mentions a Tamil glossary to the Pali Jatakatthakatha, which had been consulted by him, along with a host of other books, in the compilation of that work. Maitreya Thera's Lovada Sangarava, a didactic work, is said to contain several ideas identical with *Naladiyar*."

The Sandēśa Kāvyas (Dūtu literature) or Message Poems appear to be a popular form during the 15th and 16th centuries A.D. Most of them describe the educational and religious activities and sometimes the Royal Court.

The Kōkila (cuckoo) Sadēśa of Irugal Kulatila Pirivena Thera refers to the study of Tamil also at the Paiyagala Pirivena.

In another verse, Kōkila Sandēśa refers, to the Royal Court of Parākramabāhu VI where there were poets laureate and scholars versed in Elu (Sinhala), Tamil, Pāli and Sanskrit.

The Gira (parrot) Sandēśa of Śrī Rāhula refers to the study of Sanskrit, Pāli, Sinhalese and Tamil in various classes in the Vijayaba Pirivena of Tottagamuwa in Galle. They also studied drama etc.

The Savul (cock) Sandēśa refers to the presence of poets laureate in the Royal Court of Rājasinghā I of Sitawaka versed in Elu (Sinhala), Tamil, Pāli and Sanskrit.

The Parevi (Dove) Sandēśa refers to a Kali Kovil in Bentota where Sinhalese and Tamils worshipped.

The Selalihini (Nakanavai) Sandēśa of Śrī Rāhula refers to the Śiva temple near the Royal Court of Śrī Jayawardhanapura Kotte (of the kingdom of Kotte).

It says: "Rest thou in the beautiful *Devala* where, amidst fumes of camphor and black aloe - wood, rows of banners are waving, where the din of Tamil drums, conches and ringing and tinkling bells in spread far and wide, and where eulogistic hymns are chanted by Tamil maidens so as to attract every one."

Thoughout the coasts of the West and South there were several temples for Śiva, Vishṇu, Murugaṇ (Skanda), Gaṇēśa and other deities. Sinhalese and Tamils worshipped at these temples. There were Tamil Buddhists also as revealed by epigraphic and literary evidence.

During the time of Parākramabāhu IV of Dambadeniya (also known as Pandita Parākramabāhu), his Court scholars wrote the Caracotimalai, a treatise on astrology in Tamil.

Tamil has enriched Sinhala both in grammar, and literature. Godakumbure in his appraisal says:[32] "Dravidian languages have, however, had that influence on Sinhalese, chiefly through contact, and Tamil being the language spoken by a larger population in the neighbouring part of India asserted a wide influence on the vocabulary, grammar, and literature of the Sinhalese." — the people of Ceylon began to look up to Tamil culture as something superior and even began to adopt Tamil names and write signatures in the Tamil script. — Tamil influenced not only the structure of the Sinhalese language, but also it's grammatical terminology. In the oldest existing Sinhalese grammar, the Sidat Sangarawa (thirteenth century), which for the most part adopts the methods and phraseology of the Sanskrit grammarians, there are certain passages which clearly display its indebtedness to Tamil."

Godakumbure also gives a list of works which have been either translated or adapted from Tamil sources.[33] Though Mahābhārata is a work in Sanskrit and Sanskrit influence on Sinhala literature is great. It was only in the 17th century that a Buddhist priest from Kohbekaduwa in Kandy District produced Mahābhārata from a Tamil source as a Jātaka story. The work is entitled Maha Padāranga Jaiakaya. It was edited by D.R. Seneviratne and published in 1929. The edited version contains 1514 stanzas.

Some of the other works, so produced from Tamil sources include Vetalam Katava, Ramayanaya. Vallimata Katava, Pattini Halla, Valalu Katava, Dinatara Katava, Sinnamuttu Katava, Kancimale Sulambavati Katava, Atulla Katava, Ravana Hellava, Ravana Hella, Vayanti Male, Vitti hata, Hariccandara Katava.

Among them, the first two chapters of Kamba Rāmāyaṇam in Tamil was translated into Sinhalese by J.V. Abhayagunawardhana in 1841. It was revised and published by C.D. Bastian in 1886. Vallimata Katava was written by Muder. A. Vijayasundara of Matara in 1772. Pattini Halla and Vayantimale relate to Cilappatikāram, Vayanti male was written by Tisimhala Kavitilaka of Vidagama in Kalutara. Hariccandara was written by a poet from Dodanvala, also known as Dodanvala Kivindu. It will be seen that as much as Kandyan area played an important role. South also played an equally important role in the 17th and 18th centuries.

Tamil was respected as a language of culture and learning during the 16th century. The author of Subashithaya, Alagiawanna Mukavetti says: "I shall inter-

pret the great laws of conduct which has come to us from the mouths of the sages of old and which have been embodied in the books, and state their substance in Sinhalese rhymes for the benefit of the ignorant who have not studied Tamil, Sanskrit and Pali."

Kav Silumina is considered the foremost Sinhala poem of the 12th or 13th Century. The 43th stanza of canto 6 of the poem has a word *melap* which means canopy in Tamil *(mēlāppu)*. The Sinhalese word *Viyan* was also in use at that time. Ven: Valivittiye Sorata Nayaka Thera, one time Vice-Chancellor of the Vidyodaya University who edited this work in 1946 explains thus (at p. 122):[34]

Even the Kandyan Convention of 1815 was signed in Tamil by some Chiefs of Kandy. As the learned Venerable Valivittiye Sorata Thera has aptly put it "There was many a bond between Sinhalese and Tamils even in the Courts of Kings" in the golden olden days - the pre - colonical period of this country. This bond was so strong that there is during the material period total absence of hatred. The elergy, kings, officials of the Court and the people were highly cultured and faithfully followed the teachings of their respective religions. It was a period when there was concordance and rythrm of equality and true democracy.

This led to the emergence of the popular Nursery Rhyme, which in translation reads thus :

Child : Mummy, Mummy! To Galle I go

Mother: Why Sonna, to Galle

Child : To study two languages

Mother: What languages ?

Child : Tamil and Sinhalese.

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A LIST OF SOME TAMIL INSCRIPTIONS INDITED BY SINHALESE AND TAMIL KINGS

Serial No.	Period	Name of King	Place where indited	Province or District	Contents of the inscription	Source
1	11th cAD	Rajendra I (Chola King)	Kayts Jaffna	Jaffna Originally Matota, Mannar.	Incomplete - as only a portion is available 2 inscriptions.	Cintanai Vol. 2 No. 4
2	12th cAD	Gajababu II	Hingurakgoda	N C P	Grants to a Buddhist Temple - Grantha script	C T I - Pt I
3	12th cAD	Jayabahu I	Budumuttawa Nikaweratiya	N W P	Grants to a Hindu Temple	C T I - Pt I
4	12th cAD	Vijayabahu I	Kantalai	Trinco Dt.	Grants to Siva Temple VijayaRajesvaram	C T I - Pt I
5	12th cAD	Gajabahu II	Kantalai	Trinco Dt.	Grants to a Brahmin Village (2 inscriptions)	C T I - Pt 2
6	12th cAD	Rajaraja I	Matota	Mannar Dt.	Grants to RajaRajesvaram (Tiruketisvaram renovated)	C T I - Pt 2
7	12th cAD	Gajabahu II	Mankanai	Trinco Dt.	Grants to head of Palanquin bearers	J C R XX
8	12th cAD	Jayabahu I	Moragahawela	Tamankaduwa N C P	Grants to a Buddhist Temple - Tamil & Grantha script.	JCR XVIII
9	12th cAD	Parakrama Bahu I	Nainativu	Jaffna	Re-arrangements at the Kayts Port - marine trade	JCR XVIII
10	14th cAD	Viyayabahu Vor VI	Tirukkovil	East. Prov.	Grants to a Siva Temple	C T I - Pt I
11	14th cAD	Parakrama Bahu III	Nainmana	Matara	Grants to a Brahmin Village	C T I - Pt II
12	15th cAD	Parakrama Bahu II	Munneswaram	N.W. Prov.	Grants to the Siva Temple at Munneswaram	T I - Pt I
13	15th cAD	Parakrama Bahu VI	Main St. Jaffna	Jaffna	Incomplete	Cintanai Vol. 2 Jul/Oct.
14	16th cAD	Vijaya Bahu VII	Tirukkovil	East. Prov.	Grants to a Murugan Temple	C T I - Pt I
15	16th cAD	Vijayabahu VI	Thambiluvil Tirukkovil	East. Prov.	Grants of land to a Hindu temple	Vol. II Jul/Oct. Cintanai
16	16th cAD	Vijayabahu VI	Tirukkovil	East. Prov.	Grants to a Murugan Temple	Vol. 2 Jul/Oct. Cintanai
17	17th cAD	Senarat alias	Veeramunai	East. Prov.	Copper Plates. Visit of Chetties from Madura with an idol of Ganesa and a Royal Princess.	Vol. 2 Jul/Oct. -----do-----
18.	17th cAD	Rajasinghe II	Sampanturai	East. Prov.	Copper Plates - Grants to a Brahmin called Ramanatham	-----do-----

CINTANAI - Ed. K. Indrapala   CIT - Ceylon Tamil Inscriptions - A. Veluppillai   UCR - University of Ceylon.

S. Swaminathan

Tiruvaigāvūr is a small hamlet in the Papanasam taluk of Thanjavur district. The Śiva temple called Bilvanāthēśvara temple has a hoary past as it was sung by the Saivite saint Tirujñāna sambandar.[1] The temple contains thirteen inscriptions.[2] The earliest inscription of this temple engraved on the south-wall of the *maṇḍapa* in front of this temple belongs to the reign of Pallava Nandivarmarāja.[3] The next record, in the chronological order, is that of Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa I dated in his fortieth regnal year (1110 A.D.)

The subjoined inscription[4] is found engraved on the south wall of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the central shrine. On account of its interesting nature the inscription is being analysed here.

It is engraved in the Tamil characters of twelfth century A.D. and is in Tamil language. The record does not call for any comment on orthographical peculiarties.

It begins with the usual *prasasti* of the king *pugaḷ mādu viḷaṅga* and is dated in the fortieth regnal year (1110 A.D.) of the Chōḷa king Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa I. However, in the *meykkīrtti* portion the epithet of the king was wrongly engraved as Parakēsarivarman though actually Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa I was a Rājakēsarivarman.[5]

Regarding the contents, this inscription mentions that Pūṇḍi Uḍaiyāṇ Sūriyaṇ Pavaḷakkuṇriṇār *alias* Vaṇṇāḍu-Uḍaiyār of Paravaichchuṟṟuppūṇḍi in Rājarāja-vaḷanāḍu petitioned the king in his thirtysecond regnal year (1102 A.D.) and built of stone the central shrine, *tiru viḍaikkaṭṭu* and *maṇḍapa* of the temple of Tiruvaigāvuḍaiya Mahādēva in Aṇḍāṭṭu-Kūṟṟam a sub-division of Ulaguyyavandasōḷa-Vaḷanāḍu after removing the old brick structure which was dilapidated. He then found the paddy accruing from the temple land inadequate for the deity's day to day expenses and rituals. Hence he beseeched the king and obtained for grant to the temple twenty and odd (*Vēli*) of land, yielding one thousand and odd (*kalam* of) paddy at Kaḷappākkuḍi in Viṟaik-kūṟṟam in Ulaguyyavandasōḷa-Vaḷanāḍu. A *mahēśvara* of the temple Tiruveṇkāḍu Uḍaiyāṇ Tiruchchiṟṟambalam Uḍaiyāṇ *alias* Tandaivirdamuḍittār got the construction work *tiruppaṇi*) executed.

A few words of etymological interest may be observed here. *Ishṭikai* in line no. 5 is a *tadbava* of the Sanskrit *ishṭika* or *ishṭakā* which means burnt bricks.[6] *Jinnattamaiyil* in line no. 5 is also derived from the Sanskrit word *Jīrṇa*[7] meaning getting decayed or dilapidated or ruined. *Tiruviḍaikkaṭṭu* (*tirut iḍai + kaṭṭu* is an architectural term meaning a structure between the cen-

tral shrine (*tirukkarraḷi*) and *maṇḍapa* viz. *ardhamaṇḍapa* which is is between *maṇḍapa* and central shrine. An inscription[8] from Kaṇḍrādittam states that an individual had built this *tiruviḍaikkaṭṭu* (*ittiruviḍaikkaṭṭū*) and this inscription is found engraved on the south wall of the *ardhamaṇḍapa* of the temple. Hence it is evident that *tiruviḍaikkaṭṭu* stands for *ardhamaṇḍapa*.

To appreciate the import of the inscription it is necessary to understand the history of temple construction in the ancient Tamil country.

Temples had been constructed in Tamil country since second century A.D. Saṅgam literature contains references about temples of Kāḷi, Balarāma, Krishṇa, Muruga etc.,[9] The Chēra ruler Seṅguṭṭuvaṉ is said to have constructed a temple for Kaṇṇagi.[10] This temple has been located and identified with the remains of a stone temple on the hill-track above Kūḍalūr of Madurai District on the borders of Tamil Nadu and Kerala. Evidntly these temples were constructed with perishable materials like wood, lime, brick, metal etc., and they did not last long. Stone construction was abhorred because it was considered inauspicious and was used for funerary buildings and also for erecting hero stones to perpetuate the memory of fallen heroes.[11]

The advent of the Pallavas brought new practices in the realm of architecture.

The Pallava emperor Mahēndravarman I (600 A.D.) conceived the idea of excavating cave temples in the Tamil country,[12] on the sides of hillocks. He has to his credit a number of cave temples in several parts of his vast empire. In one of the caves at Maṇḍagappaṭṭu he mentions that "this brickless and mortarless ideal mansion was caused to be made by the king Vichchitrachittā for Brahma, Iśvara and Vishṇu."[13] Mahēndravarman I also appears to have constructed some structure (*maṇḍapa* ?) because a few pillars bearing his name have been discovered from Kāñchīpuram.[14]

This novel idea of excavating cave temples in Tamil country seems to have appealed to the Pāṇḍyas also. A few excavated temples were discovered in the Pāṇya region. One such cave temple at Piḷḷaiyārpaṭṭi which has an inscription assignable on palaeographical grounds to the 5th or 6th century A.D.[15]

Hence the idea of excavating simple cave temples in the Tamil country both by the Pallavas and the Pāṇḍyas continued for some time in the subsequent period and reached its maturity later. The cave temple at Tirukkaḷukkuṉram existed during the region of Narasimhavarman Pallava I.[16] The rock-cut cave temple at Mēlaichchēri is also said to have belonged to the regin of the Pallava Narasimhavarman I.[17] So also the rock cut cut temples at Viḷappākkam, and Tiruvellaṛai are attributed to the period of the

later Pallavas.[18] Pallava Rājasiṃha's monumental temples at Mahābalipuram and the famous Kailāsanāth temple at Kāñchīpuram were constructed with blocks of stones. Hence the Pallavas continued to experiment with the stone construction till they reached in constructing proper temples (in stone).

It appears it was given to Chōla Āditya (871-907 A.D.) to generate a movement to raise stone constructions. The Aṇbil plates of Sundarachōla[19] refers to the construction of stone temples all along the banks of the river Kāvēri by Āditya I. A few constructions pioneered by his political predecessors, Pallavas, were there to guide him. His successor Parātakachōla I (907-955 A.D.) also gave a fillip to this movement. Several ancient Siva temples constructed of bricks were reconstructed with stone during the age of this king.[20] The daughter-in-law of Parāntāka I, Sembiyan Mahādēvi, the celebrated Chōla queen whose devotional fervour was instrumental in converting many brick temples into stone structures, gave further boost to this movement.[21] It is interesting to note that the Śiva temple at Tiruvaigāvūr, which is under our study here, escaped the attention of these pious builders of temples and had to wait till the accession of Kulōttuṅgachōla I.[22]

Hence the process of converting brick temples into stone structures began with the Pallavas caught up with the Chōlas and continued till later period as proved by the inscription under study.

The earliest inscription[23] available in the temple at Tiruvaigāvūr is dated in the 22nd regnal year of Pallava Nandivarmarāja. This record palaeographically assignable to 11th century A.D. is found engraved on the same spot where the present inscription of Kulōttuṅgachōla I is incised. It is not incorrect to suggest that the Pallava inscription must have originally been engraved on a separate stone and kept in the temple. When a new structure was raised after demolishing the brick structure during the reign of Kulōttuṅgachōla I it was reengraved as suggested by its palaeography. It is also not impossible to suggest that a few early inscriptions which originally existed were either left unengraved or damaged (before the period of Kulōttuṅgachōla I) when we consider the long time gap of three centuries between Pallava Nandivarman and Kulōttuṅgachōla I. This view is not incorrect when we consider that the temple is an ancient one, sung by the Saiva saint Tiru Jñānasambandar (640-656)[24] and located in the heart of the Chōla country.

The person who constructed the Śiva temple at Tiruvaigāvūr in stone, supplicated the king to cede more land as the land that was originally intended for conducting day to day offerings and rituals was not sufficient. It is important to note here that brick construction was always smaller in size. The maintenance of the temple with so many employees such

as priests, helpers, accountants, officials, singers, dancing-girls and watchmen on its roll, and also the number and magnificence of the various services in the temple depended upon a reliable stream of income. It was possible only if the temple had sufficient resources. Hence to meet the growing demand of the temple the individual obtained twenty and odd *veli* of land which yielded 1,200 and odd *kalam* of paddy.

Not much can be said about the place names and geographical division of this record under study. Tiruvaigāvūr is stated to have been located in Aṇḍāṭṭu-Kūṟṟam in Ulaguyyavandsōla-valanāḍu. The latter name has not been met with frequently in inscription. It is not unlikely that *Ulaguyya Vandasōlaṉ* might be one of the epithets of Kulōttuṅga Chōḻa I. However this name lasted only for a very short period because an inscription[25] of Kulōttuṅgachōḻa II (1138 A.D.) from

the same village located Tiruvaigāvūr in Innambūr-nāḍu,[26] a sub-division of Vaḍakaraivikramasōla-valanāḍu. Similarly another record[27] of Rājarāja II (1157 A.D.) states that Tiruvaigāvūr is in the same Aṇḍāṭṭu-Kūṟṟam in Vikramasōla-valanāḍu.

The following villages were included in Āṇḍāṭṭu-Kūṟṟam.[28]

> Chāttimaṅgalam
> Tiruppuṟambiyam
> Tiruvaikā, (Tiruvaigāvūr)
> Tolūr
> Vaiyattalai

Y. Subbarayalu[29] holds that Aṇḍāṭṭu-Kūṟṟam covered some portions of present Papanasam and Kumbakonam taluks of Thanjavur district. The village Tiruppaḷanam in Thanjavur Taluk was included in the Viṟai-kūṉṟam, which evidently means that Viṟai-kūṟṟam comprised of the present Thanjavur taluk.[30]

TEXT

1   *Svasti śrī Pugaḻ-mādu viḻaṅga Jaya-mādu*
     virumba nila-magaḷ nilava malar-magaḷ
     puṉara urimaiyiṟ=siṟanda maṇi-muḍi
     śūḍi Mīnavar nilai keḍa villavar kulai

2   *tara ēṉai maṉṉavar iḻiyaḻ=uṟṟiḻitarat=*
     tikku-aṉaittun taṉ sakkara-nāḍatti
     vīra-siṅhāsaṉattu Avaṇimuḻudu-uḍaiyāḷōḍum
     viṟṟirundu=aruḷiya kōp-Para-

3   *kēsaripaṟmarāṉa Tribhuvaṉachchakkara-*

varttikaḷ śrī-Kulōttuṅga sōḷa-dēvaṟkku
yāṇḍu nāṟppadāvadu Rājarāja-vaḷanāṭṭu
Paravaichchuṟṟup P -

4   *ūṇḍip Pūṇḍi uḍaiy=āṇ Sūriyan Pavaḷakku[ṇ*]ṟi*
ṇār=āṇa Vaṇṇāḍu=uḍaiyār Ulaguvyya
vandaśōḷa-vaḷanāṭṭu Aṇḍāṭṭūk-kūṟṟattū
uḍaiyār Tiruvaigāvuḍai

5   *ya Mahādēvar kōyil muṇbu ishṭigaiyāy*
jinnittamaiyil ik-kōyil iḷichchit
tirukkaṟṟaliyāga śegaikku yāṇḍu
muppatiraṇḍāva-

6   *du viṇṇappañ seidu ishṭikai iḷichchi-*
vittu tirukkaṟṟaliyum tiruviḍaik-
kaṭṭum tirumaṇḍapamum seivittu
it-tēvar paḷan-dēvadānam=ā-

7   *na nilattu nellut tiruppaḍimāṟṟukkum*
nimandattukkum pōdāmaiyil dēvadānam
pēṟukaikku viṇṇappañ-chei Ulaguyya
vanda śōḷa-vaḷa

8   *nāṭṭu Viṟaik-kūṟṟattūk Kaḷappākkuḍi*
pottagappaḍi nilam irubadē chinnattā[31]
nellu Āirattū iru-nūṟṟuch chinnamum[32]
dēvadānamā-

9   *ga iḍuvittu nivandañ-chellap=paṇṇuvittār*
Rājarāja-vaḷanāṭṭūp Paravaichchuṟṟp
Pūṇḍi uḍaiyār Sūriyaṇ Pavaḷak
kuṇṟiṇār=ā-

10   *na Vaṇṇāṭṭū-uḍaiyār ivar solla it-tirupp-*
aṇi seivittār kōyilil śrī māyēsvarar
Tiruveṇkāḍu-uḍaiyāṇ Tiruchchiṟṟam
balam-uḍaiyā-

11   ṇāṇa Tandai virdamuḍittār

References :

1.   Sambandar Dēvāram No. 17 *Tiruvaigāvūr*

2.   *A.R.Ep.*, 1914 Nos. 47-59

3.   *SII*, Vol. XII, No. 58. K.R. Srinivasan identifies this Nandivarmarāja with Nandivarman III. See his *Cave temples of the Pallavas* (1964), p. 12

4.   *A.R.Ep.*, 1914. No. 51

5.   *Ep.Ind.*, Vol.XXII, p. 268

6.   *Monier-Williams Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (1872), p. 143.

7.   Ibid. p. 350.

8.   *A.R.Ep.*, 1929. No. 292. Also K.G. Krishnan, *Studies in South Indian History and Epigraphy* (1981), p. 6

9.   C. Balasubramaniam: *Tamil Ilakkiya Varalāṟu* pp. 47, 57

10.   A Chidambaranathan: *Ilaṅgovin inkavi* (1974), p. 13

11.   R. Nagaswamy: *Seminar on Hero-Stones* Madras (1974) p. 103

12.   Ibid., *Architecture in Tamilnad; Journal of Tamil Studies*, Vol. I, pp. 139 ff.

13.   *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 15-17.

14.   R. Nagaswamy: *Architecture in Tamilnad* p. 148.

15.   *Ibid.* p. 150

16.   *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III. p. 277. Perhaps the cave temple at Tirukkalukkuṟam came into existence during the time of Skandasishya, an early Pallava ruler.

17.   *SII.* vol. XII No. 115.

18.   K.R. Srinivasan *Cave Temple of the Pallavas* (1964) pp. 95, 132

19.   *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p.50.

20.   S. Swaminathan: *Chōḷa Parānataka I and his times*, p. 467

21.   *A.R. Ep.*, 1925-26, p. 104, Part II para 22.

22.   A few temples were reconstructed with stones during the reigns of Kulōtuṅgachōḷa I

        a) Vyāghrapādēśvara temple at Siddhaliṅgamaḍam South Arcot District, SII, Vol. XXVI, Nos. 388,

390.

b) Aruḷāḷa Perumāḷ temple, Kāñchīpuram. See S.R. Balasubrahmanyam: *Later Chōḷa temples* (1979), p. 144

c) Tiru-arumarundudēvar temple at Tirundu-Dēvankuḍi, Thanjavur district. S.R. Balasubrahmanyam, *op.cit.*, p. 138.

The last mentioned temple like the one at Tiruvaigāvūr was an ancient temple sung by the saint Tirujñānasambandar. But it has no inscription datable earlier to the times of Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa I.

23.   *SII*, Vol. XII No. 58. This inscription registers a purchase of 1 1/2 *vēli* of land from the assembly of Tribhuvanamādēvi-chaturvēdimaṅgalam (as the surname of Tiruvaigāvūr). This name is only found in later inscriptions clearly indicates that this is not an exact copy of the original record though in the last line this inscription is stated to be a copy of a stone inscription.

24.   N. Sethuvaman. *Pāṇḍiyar varalāṟu* (1989) p. 7.

25.   *A.R.Ep.*, 1914. No. 49.

26.   Iṉambar-nāḍu was located in Virudarājabhayaṅkara- vaḷanāḍu in 1122 A.D. SII Vol. XXIII, No. 292, Y. Subbarayalu holds that Ulaguyyavandasḍa-vaḷanāḍu was the same as Virudarājabhayaṅkara-vaḷanāḍu.

See his *Political Geography of the Chōla Country*, p. 108.

27.   *A.R.Ep.*, 1914. No. 50

28.   Y. Subbarayalu: *op.cit.* p. 108.

29.   *Ibid.*, Appendix III, No. 7

30.   *SII*, Vol. V, Nos. 691, 692.

31.   Here 'nilam irubadē chinnam' means twenty and odd land. Though the term *vēli* is not specified here it denotes twenty and *vēli* of land only.

32.   Similarly "nellu āirattū iru-nūṟu chinnam" means one thousand two hundred and odd paddy. Here also the exact measure of produce is not specified though actually it means one thousand two hundred and odd *kalam* of paddy only. i.e., at the rate of sixty *kalam* per *vēli*.

S. Rajavelu

In the year 1984, the Tamil Nadu State Department of Archaeology had discovered some rock paintings in a rock shelter on the hill at Mahārājakkaḍai in Krishnagiri Taluk of Dharmapuri District. The painting was first noticed by Mr. Krishnamurthy, the then curator of Dharmapuri Museum and he wrote a note on the importance of the painting in their Departmental Journal *Kalveṭṭu*.[2]

Mr. Natanakasinathan, the Director of State Archaeology Department has presented an article on this painting and it was published in the *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India*[3] and it was also included in his book *Kalleḻuttukkalai*[4].

Mr. Kasinathan identified the rock paintings as the earliest painted Tamil inscription in Tamil Brāhmi (Dhamiḷi) characters and read three lines of the paintings as (i) Dhamma (ii) Tōpakikōḍaṇ and (iii) yaña kāmappa. He attributes the above painted inscription to mean the gift made by two individuals Tōpakikōḍaṇ and yaña Kāmappa. Further he adds that the first word Dhamma is meant for gift. He argues that the gift was made to a Buddhist mendicant when Buddhism was prevalent in Tamil Nadu even before the pre-christain era. He dates this painting to a period of 3rd-2nd century B.C. Besides, he tries to equate the word *yaña* (prefixed

with proper name Kāmappa) to the Brahminical sacrifice *yajña*. He identifies the personal name Kāmappa with a Kannaḍa personal name. But his painstaking job in identifying this painting with Tamil Brāhmi, the readings and the interpretation seems to be farfetched.

Hence, the object of this paper is to re-examine the entire painting of Mahārājakkaḍai. As stated earlier, the painting was discovered in a natural cavern on the Aṅkanāmalai hill locally known as Iśwarakuṇḍu. The hill is about 1500 feet high and located on the north eastern side of the proper village Mahārājakkaḍai. On the top of the hill, there is a dilapidated fort having some ruined buildings datable to 16th to 17th century A.D. Local tradition says that the fort belonged to the Marātha King Shivāji, who stayed in this fort while he was touring the Southern States.

The Iśwarakuṇḍu rock shelter on the top of the hill is facing towards north and on its ceiling is seen, the so called painting. They are painted in white pigments. Due to natural calamity and human disturbances, the paintings have been eroded and are faint. As the faint paintings are more or less in the form of vague letters, they would probably strike the visitor, to be like the letters of early Tamil Brahmi.

The subjectmatter of the painting is seen to be mostly of human figures along with a few symbols. The identifiable symbols are (i) a circle with a cross ⊕ as is found in the pre-historic painting at Kīlvālai in South Arcot District as well as in the Indus seals.[5]

But Shri Kasinathan identifies this symbol with the Brāhmi letter 'dha'. The second and third symbols in the first row are more or less similar and they denote a Trident symbol. But these symbols are taken by him to be a Brāhmi letter 'ma'.

In the second row, the first one is nothing but a human figure. But he treats the human figure as the Brāhmi letter tō. The second symbol in this row looks like Brāhmi letter pa as identified by him, but this kind of symbol has also been found in the paintings on the stone slabs of the megalithic Dolmens at (Mallasamudram) in Dharmapuri District. Then, the next symbol may be a kind of reptile figure.

The fourth one is this row is well akin to the previous one without a circle on the left side. It also looks like a reptile. It is followed by two unidentifiable symbols. Besides which, some more paintings are worn out and not clearly seen. On the left side of these are found two symbols,

the first one looks like a boat and the second as human figure.

In the third row, the cross or plus mark † symbol is visible. Most of these symbols are found in a few magalithic sites in the same District particularly in the magalithic Dolmens and on the ceilings of the rock shelter at Ōramanagunta in the same Taluk.[6]

Apart from this, on the left side of the rock shelter there is a huge boulder bearing the traces of Red and White Ochre colour painting where the human figures are seen. On the foot of the hill, nearly two hundred Dolmens have been found. In the interior portions of the slabs of these Dolmeans are found similar type of painting containing mostly human and animal figures and other symbols.

Similar paintings as those available here can also be glimpsed at Oramanagunta, Mallasamudram and Mayilādumpārai etc.,[7] thereby strengthening the hypothesis that these are merely megalithic paintings. On the basis of the above discussion one can conclude that the theory of it being the earliest painted Tamil Brāhmi inscription as pointed out by Shri Kasinathan is very difficult to accept.
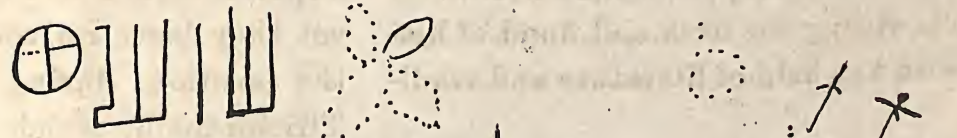
References :

1.   I am indebted to the Director (Epigraphy) and Deputy Superintending Epigraphist for permitting me to utilise the photographs of Mahārājakkaḍai painting.
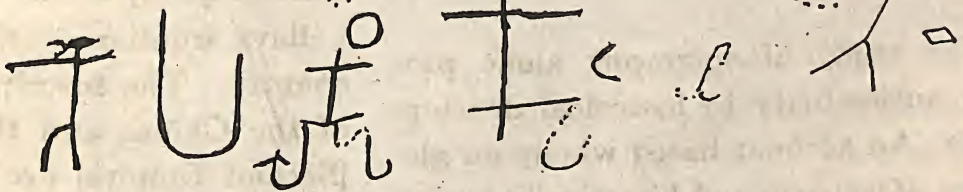
· 2.   *Kalveṭṭu* (Quarterly Journal) Vol. 20. p. 32.

3.   *JESI*. Vol. XIV p. 116. Three recent landmark inscriptions of Tamil Nāḍu.

4.   *Kalveṭṭukkalai* - N. Kasinathan, three landmark inscriptions found recently in Tamil Nāḍu.

5.   *Tamilnāṭṭil Sinduveli Eḻuttōviyam* (in Tamil) - P.L. Swamy.

6.   *Man and Environment*, Vol. XIV No. 1, K. Rajan - Archaeology of Dharmapuri District, Tamil Nāḍu.

7.   *Ibid.*

MAHĀRĀJAKKAḌAI PAINTING

FIRST ROW -

SECOND ROW -

THIRD ROW -

Rock shelters with paintings in - Paintings on the Dolmens Dharmapuri District

1. Thāḷapaḷḷi
2. Oppathavāḍi
3. Ōramanakuṇṭa
4. Mayilāḍum pāṛai
5. Mallapāḍi
6. Mudippināyanapaḷḷi - Hosur Taluk
7. Mahārājakkaḍai

in Krishnagiri
Taluk

Mallachandiram
Mahārājakkaḍai
Malththampaṭṭi
Kuruvinayanapaḷḷi
Oramanagunta etc.

N. Rajendran

The inscriptions of the ancient, mediaeval and early modern periods supply to the historian a variety of information. They enable him to forge the essential chronological chain out of a jumble of events. As such they form the skeleton on which is strung the flesh and flood of history with the help of literature and tradition.

The study of epigraphy alone provides authenticity to historical developments. An account based wholly on glorifying *Māhātmyas* and historically useless myths and legends is bound to be incomplete, indefinite and unreal. Epigraphy has rendered it possible to reconstruct the history of South India, particularly Tiruchirāpalli. Śriranṅgam and Jambukēśvaram temples are rich in inscriptions and it is from these inscriptions it is possible to reconstruct a large part of the political history of Tiruchirāpalli. The earliest inscription, in Brāhmi characters of the century A.D is found in the lower rock-cut cave of Tiruchirāpalli, go a long way in explaining the name Tiruchirāpalli. There are a few Pallava inscriptions in the Tiruchirapalli cave and in Tiruvellārai and Uyyakoṇḍāṇ Tirumalai [near Śrirangam]. The next earliest inscription, also in the Triruchirāpalli cave, is that of Varaguṇa II (862 - 880 I, the last

king of the Pāṇḍyas) first empire. Though the inscriptions of the period of the first empire. Though the incriptions of the period of the Pallava-Pāṇḍya hostilities that prepared the ground for the rise of the imperial Chōḷas are few and far between, yet they leave no room for doubt about the position, during these hostilities, of Tirichirāpalli, which lay actually on the Pallava frontier overlooking the Pāṇḍya country. The inscriptions of the period of the Chōḷas and the revived Pāṇḍyas [Second Empire] are many and instructive. They are found largely on the walls of the Śrirangam temple. The numerous and rich benefactions made to the temple by these kings are set out in detail confirming in a large measure the account in the Vaishṇava chronicles of the bountiful resources of the temple.

The inscriptions in the Śrirangam temple, of the early Vijayanagar Chieftains paint a picture of a conscious effort on their part to resuscitate the shrine as the celebrated centre of worship. A large number of copper-plate grants begin to appear in the period of the later Vijayanagar kings and that of the Nāyaka of Madura. Most of these record the grant of villages to the wardens of the Śrirangam temple. A few inscriptions of the mid-Vijayanagar period give us important and

useful details about the governors of the Tiruchirāpaḷḷi region and their dealings with the Śrīraṅgam temple. By the begining of the 18th century inscriptions fell into disuse and for the subsequent periods we depend mainly upon contemporary writings.

ŚRĪRAṄGAM TEMPLE

The Vaishṇava tradition gives a continuous account of the succession of the pontiffs at Śrīraṅgam. But the Guruparmparai belongs purely to the realm of hagiography and is not of much help to the historian. The appropriate political background is furnished by the inscriptions. However, the correlation of political and religious data in inscriptions is not as complete as the modern student might wish. Direct references, in the host of inscriptions, on the walls, pillars and plinths of the Śrīraṅgam temple to the affairs and activities of the Vaishṇava movement at Śrīraṅgam can be counted on one's fingers' ends. For instance, it is surprising that Rāmānuja, who, according to the authentic tradition of the *Árāyirappadi Guruparamparai*, was for long [6- years and more according to *Kōil-Olugu*] the manager of the affairs of the Śrīraṅgam temple, both spiritual and temporal, does not find a single direct mention in any of its inscriptions. This applies also to his immediate predecessors and successors. Thus, to all appearances, there are two sets of material for the reconstruction of the history of the Śrīraṅgam temple, i.e., the hagiologies and the inscriptions, which have nothing in common between them.

However, this does not hamper the reconstruction of the history of Śrīraṅgam any way since corroborative evidences were to be found in later inscriptions. The inscriptions of the 11th, 12th, and 13th centuries contain important references, though indirect and also few and far between, to the affairs and organisation of the Śrīraṅgam temple. An inscription of Kulōttuṅga I dated 1085[1] and another of Māṛavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I dated 1225[2] contain such references, casual in themselves and hence quite reliable. These references, for instance, go to confirm the traditional account of Rāmānuja's activities in Śrīraṅgam Rāmānuja and a few of his immediate disciples like Embar and Accan.[3] With the help of these and a few other inscriptions it is possible to check and verify the tradition.

Generally speaking inscriptions in South India are seldom purely historical in character; they register gifts and endowments of a public or private nature, to temples, maths and brāhmanas. As such they are of immense value to the history of any temple. A list of inscriptions of the Śrīraṅgam temple, arranged chronologically presents a succinct sketch of the history of the property of the temple, in lands, gardens, jewels of gold and

diamonds, lamps, vessels and other ornaments for worship.   The temple received very frequently rich presents not only from the local chiefs but also from their neighbours, who came down for the purpose of war or peace. The list of benefactors included in itself important officers of the army, merchants, princes and private individuals. Whenever the peace of the country was violently disturbed by foreign invasions the temple lost its munificence.   On the establishment of the British Raj, however, the temple ceased to be a property holder but became a pensioner of the government.

Moreover, the only source for a proper study of the structural growth of the Śrīraṅgam temple is epigraph. A chronological list of the inscriptions in the temple furnishes a clear sketch of the history of the physical growth of the temple. From the study of such a list it can be seen that a majority of the minor shrines were constructed in the 13th century, when the region round Śrīraṅgam was under occupation of the Hoysaḷas and after then the Pāṇḍyas of the Second Empire. The *Kōil-Oḷugu*, which gives a detailed and minute account of the several structures with the names of their builders and Śaka dates, has, it is found, drawn its information largely from inscriptions. In addition, the inscriptions also furnish rare and interesting information about the transfer of the management of certain shrines [the Dasāvatāra shrine and the Tirumaṅgai

Āḷvār Sannidhi] to new *archakas* and the duties they were expected to perform in respect of their offices.

Few other inscriptions reveal the episodes of topical interest. They give details of the self-immolation of a few *Jīyas* and *Ēkāṅgis* of the temple, as a protest against insufficient allowances made by the local governor for the conduct of Pūja.[5]

Tiruchirāpaḷḷi : The Seat of Political Power

Some of the earliest of the Pallava inscriptions are found in the cave temples of the districts of Tiruchirāpaḷḷi, are ascribable to the reign of Mahēndravarman I. The inscriptions of the upper rock-cut cave of Tiruchirapalli excavated by Mahēndravarman reveal that the Pallava dominion had reached so far south as Tiruchirapaḷḷi and that this achievement of having crossed the Kāvēri into the very heart of the Chōḷa country, must be ascribed to Siṇhavishṇu, the predecessor of Mahēndravarman I, there is no reference to the latter's conquest of the Chōḷa country. Hence, it could be safely concluded that Mahēndravarman succeeded peacefully to his father's dominion, on whose southern boundary stood Tiruchirāpaḷḷi. The two pillars to the left of the upper rock-cut cave at Tiruchirapalli contain eight Sanskrit verses[6] which testify the above facts.

The   political   conflicts   and   change

of power also very graphically pictured in the epigraphs. For instance, the Pāṇḍya attempts at invasion of the Pallava country (846, 869 A.D). In the reign of his successor Nṛipatuṅgavarman (869-875) the Pallavas came into conflict with the Pāṇḍyas at Kuṁbakōṇam, and whatever might have been the result of this clash, for both parties claim the victory.[7] It is definite that Nṛipatuṅga was the last Pallava, who ruled over the region between Tiruchirāpaḷḷi and Kāñchi, since there is an inscription of Varaguṇa Pāṇḍya (862-880 AD) on the Tiruchirāpaḷḷi rock dated in his 11th regnal year (873 AD).

On the ruins of the Pallavas and Pāṇḍyas, the Chōḷas emerged in South India, particularly in the Uṟaiyūr region.[8] The earliest (Imperial) Chōḷa inscription in this area is that in the Śrīraṅgam temple dated in the 17th year of Parāntaka I (907-953). The inscription registers a gift of thirty gold pieces for a permanent lamp, forty for comphor, one for cotton wick besides the gift of a silver lamp-stand made to the temple. The *sabha* of Tiruvaraṅgam took charge of the endowments.[9]

A much damaged and worn out inscription of this king in Śrīraṅgam dated in his 40th year mentions his title as *Maduraiyum Īḷamum Koṇḍa* [one who conquered Madurai and Ceylon][10]

The Chōḷas became an imperialist

power under Rājarāja I and Rājēndra I. There are three fragmentary records of the former in Śrīraṅgam, which records gifts of gold to this temple.[11] Similarly, an inscription in the Tiruchirāpaḷḷi cave dated in his 16th regnal year records the sale of waste land to a person for 5 *kaḻañju* to feed *Brāhāmins* and devotees during the nine days of the *Chitirai* festival in Tiruchirāpaḷḷi.

Yet another noteworthy aspect of the inscriptional evidence in the reconstruction of the history of Tiruchirāpaḷḷi is the Hoysaḷa intervention (1330-31). During the early part of the 14th century Tamil Nadu's politics was underscored by the rivalries between Chōḷas and Pāṇḍyas and the matrimonial and power alliances between the Chōḷas and the Hoysaḷas. When Rājarāja III was driven out of his kingdom by Māṟvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya and to Wake the matter worse, on the way the former was imprisoned by Kāḍavarāya Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva at Śēndamaṅgalam.[13] The alliance between Rājjarāja III and Hoysaḷa Narasimha II was perhaps strengthened by matrimonial ties.

An inscription of Rājarāja III dated in his 21st year which mentions that his queen Dēviyār Sōmaḷadēviyr, as the donor of a gift of 1,00,000 *kāśu* to the Śrīraṅgam temple for a lamp and flower garden.[14] She was perhaps, the sister of Narasimha II. Hence the latter rushed to the rescue of Rājarāja III and engaged the

combined armies of the Pāṇḍya, Kāḍava and the Bāṇas in a ninety days battle at Śriraṅgam and defeated them.15

Rājarāja III's restoration was accompanied by the visit of Hoysaḷa Narasiṁha II to Śriraṅgam.16 The epigraph gives the title of *Chōlēndra-pratiṣṭa-Guru.* Similarly, perhaps, the *Vīra Narasiṁha-Chaturvēdimaṅgalam* of an inscription from Jambukēśvaram was

named after Narasiṁha II.27

It was thus that the Hoysalas obtained a firm foothold in Tiruchirāpaḷḷi, and in the reign of Sōmēśwara, the son and successor of Narasiṁha, Kaṇṇanūr near Śrīraṅgam became the secondary capital of the Hoysaḷas.18

Thus the epigraphs have thrown invaluable light in the reconstruction of the early history of Tiruchirapalli.

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3.   MAR. 1913. p.36; 1908.p.9

4.   AREP 1936-37. No.s 100 and 102

5.   Ibid 1936-37; No. 87 and II, para 78

6.   SII. I. pp. 28-30

7.   EI. XVIII. p.7 [for Pallavas]; ARE. 1906.07 p.54.

8.   K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Coḷas,* p.131.

9.   AREP 1892, No.72

10.   Ibid 1917-18, No. 345

11.   Ibid 1917-18., No. 341-43

12.   Ibid 1904, No.412

13.   Ibid 1902: No. 142 ET. VII. pp. 160.

14.   AREP. 1936-37 No. 72 and Pt II. para 48.

15.   K.A.N. Sastri, *The Coḷas,* pp. 78,157.

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21 A NEW ADIL SHAHI INSCRIPTION FROM ARAG MAHARASHTRA

Khwaja Ghulamus Syedain

It is well known to the students of history that the rulers of Adil Shahi dynasty ruled over Bijapur for about two centuries. Bijapur rulers have added many new chapters to the history of medieval Deccan by their reforms and skilful administration. They created religious harmony and advanced art and literature. Ibrāhīm Adil Shāh II, the sixth ruler of Adil Shahi dynasty, deserves a special mention for many commendable achievements; hence his period can be called as the golden age of Adil Shahi Kingdom.

For the present study a Persian inscription of the time of Ibrāhīm Adil Shāh II has been selected by me. It provides some important pieces of information about the civil and revenue administration of that period and enlightens us about some new officials who do not get mention in the historical works.[1]

The inscription under study has been copied from Ārag, a village situated (60°45′N – 74°40′E) in Miraj Tahsil of Sangli District in Maharashtra. It is lying 19.31 kms. east of the tahsil Headquarters touching the boundaries of Belgaum District of Karnataka. This village, famous for betal-leaf gardens, lies on the road from Miraj to Bijapur passing via Athni.[2] The only important object of this deserted village is a ruined fortress survived by a solitary bastion to which this inscription is said to be originally belonged. The inscriptional slab not *in situ* measuring 40 X 85 cms. is now built into the southern wall of a Jami Masjid which is of later period. The inscription consists of 14 lines in Persian language, executed in Naskh style has been deciphered as under :

Transliteration

14. Muḥammad-u'r-Rasūl-Allāh nabāshad. Sana A.H. 996 (1587 A.D.)

1. Dar daur-i-Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh (II)

2. Wa Mīr Jumla Khān-i-A 'Ẓam Dilāwar Khān

3. Mauḍ'a-i-Arak (i.e. Árag) Ḥawāla-i-Bilāl Khān

4. Wa sayyid Maḥmūd Nā'ib-i-ghaibat-i-mu'āmila-i-

5. Mubārakābād, Malik Raiḥān Sharza Khān,

6. Salaḥdār-i-Dīwān-i-A' lā Muqāṣadār-i-

7. Mauḍ'a-i-Arak wa Sayyid Nūru'd-Din

8. Maḥaldār-i-Dīwān A'lā bar ḥukm-i-

9. Farmān-i-humāyūn wa Manṣūr Khān

10. Sarbarātī-i-mauḍ'a-i-Arak ba ḥuḍūr-i-

11. *Diwān-i-ḥad rā kase dūr*

12. *Agar īn ḥad rā kase dūr*

13.   *Kunad ū sharik-i-kalima-i-* ....
Batārīkh 22 māh Muḥarram.

Translation

1. *During the reign of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh (II)*

2. *And (at the time of) Mīr Jumla Khān-iA'ẓam Dilāwar Khān*

3. *The village (maud'a) of Arak (i.e. Ārag) under the Ḥawāladārship of Bilal Khān*

4.   *And Sayyid Maḥmūd, the Deputy-in-absence (Nā'ib-i-ghaibat) of district (mu'āmila)*

5. *Mubārakābad, Malik Raiḥān Sharza Khān,*

6. *The Arm-bearer (Salaḥdār) of the royal court (and) Fief-holder (Muqaṣadar) of*

7. *Village Arak and Sayyid Nūru'd-Dīn*

8. *The police superintendent (Maḥaldār) of the royal court, by order of a*

9. *Royal Memorandum (Farmān) and Manṣūr Khān*

10. *The Sarbārātī of the village Arak, before*

11. *The surveyor General (Dīwān-i-ḥad) was demarcated.*

12, 13 & 14. *If whosoever would disturb this boundary, may not be associated with the creed of Muhammad, the Prophet of Allāh. Date A.H. 996, Muharram 22 = 1587 A.D. March 31.*

Inscription of Ibrāhīm Ādil Shāh II, dated A.H. 996 = 1587 A.D., from Ārag, in Sangli District, (Maharashtra)

This inscription, in its nature, is a public notice installed by the local officials recording the event of fixation of the boundary of village (mauḍa') Ārag, obviously for a fair understanding of the public as well as revenue officials while collecting the various land based levies and taxes. The text says that during the reign of Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh (II) and (time of) Mīr Jumla, Khān-i-A'ẓam, Dilāwar Khān, the boundary of village Arak (i.e Ārag) was fixed by the royal order before the Diwān-i-Ḥad. The other administrative officers mentioned in this record are Bilāl Khān, the Ḥawāladār of village Arak, Sayyid Maḥmūd, the Nāïb-i-Ghaibat (Deputy in Absence) of mu'āmila (district) of Mubarakabad i.e. Miraj, Malik Raiḥān Sharza Khān, the Salaḥdār (Arm-bearer) and Muqāsadār (Fief-holder) of village Arak, Sayyid Nūru'd-Din, the Maḥaldār of royal court and Mansūr Khān, the Sarbarātī of the village Arak. It ends with an imprecation for the one whosoever would alter this boundary. The date of the event is given as A.H. 996, Muḥarram 22 = 1587 A.D., March 31.

This epigraph is important from more than one aspects as it enlightens us about the existance of two new offices, commissioned by Adil Shahi Kingdom, not known by any other record. It also provides the names of some unknown Adil Shahi officials and their jurisdictions not mentioned in historical works and available contem-porary sources. The interesting character of this epigraph is its layout. It bears the name of Prophet Muhammad, though it comes within the imprecation part of it at the end. But a space has been left blank there and his name has been writ-ten at the mast of the slab as an honour, just like the practice prevalent in writing royal orders where name of God, Prophet and King used to be written at the mast.

Dilāwar Khān under whose time the inscription was set-up is a too well-known figure of Adil Shahi bureaucracy. Dilāwar Khān, an Abbysinian by race, started his carrier as a military officer who was entrusted by Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh I, the command of the Bijapuri forces against Saif 'Ainu'l-Mulk, the military general of Nizam Shahi force of Ahmadnagar.[3] During the time of Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh II, Dilāwar Khān with a large force under his command defeated Bahzād Malik Turk, the sar-naubat of Murtaḍ a Niẓām Shāh's force of Ahmadnagar.[4] After this meritorious deed he came into lime light and started ascending to the ladder of unprecedent elevations. He was Sar-i-sarnaubat (chief of the military) and Amīr-i-Jumla (Finance Minister) according to a farmān issued by Sultān Ibrāhīm II in 1581 A.D.[5] He held the post of Madār-u'l-Muhm̄ Prime-Minister or Regent) for eight years among his total service of about sixty years to the Adil Shahi Sultāns in different capacities.[6] In 1587 A.D., when the inscription under study was being set

up, he was *Khān-i-A'ẓam* (commander of force) and *Mīr Jumla* (Finance Minister). In Adil Shahi Administration Mīr Jumla's post was generally amalgamated with that of *Wakīl-us-sulṭanat* (Prime-Minister) and was held by a single person who happened to be directly incharge of all the matters pertaining to revenue and crown-land administration at centre.[7] That is why Dilāwar *Khān's* mention in this epigraph has got a meaning. Dilāwar *Khān* was an exception who held the highest posts both in civil and military administration at a single time, which enabled him taking many decisions with a sheer high-handedness scaring even Sulṭān of an over-throw. It resulted, at a later stage, into Dilāwar *Khān's* removal. For some period he changed the camp and served with Ahmadnagar kingdom but again came back to Bijapur but he was blinded by Sulṭān's order and breathed his last at Khelna fort at the age of 90, after ten year's capativity.[8]

The village Arak, whose boundary was fixed according to a royal order, is mentioned as being under the *Ḥawāla* (Ḥawāladārship) of Bilāl *Khān*. We find one Sidi Bilal posted as Ḥawāladār of Ṣandlāpur (*Sholāpur*) in 1644 A.D. during the reign of Muḥammad 'Ādil *Shāh*,, but it is difficult to ascertain that both the persons are one and the same.[9] In Adil Shahi period every fort use to have three officials of somewhat equal rank—a *Ḥawāladār*, a *Subnis* (incharge of docu-

ments) and a *Kārkhanīs* (incharge of commissāriat work).[10] The chief of these three was *Ḥawāladār*, with the responsibility of bearing the keys of the fort. The village Arak, as its name suggests, had a small fort and evidently Bilāl *Khān* was the *Ḥawāladār*, of that fort. [11]

Sayyid Maḥmūd mentioned in the inscription as *Nāi'b-i-Ghaibat* (Deputy-in-absence) of *mu'āmila* (district) of Mubārakābād (i.e. Miraj) is a new official that came to light by this record. The post of *Nāi'b-i-Ghaibat* was meant for looking-after the administration of the district as a deputy of the Sulṭān. We find mention of one Sayyid Maḥmūd, son of Sayyid 'Alāu'd-Dīn, in another inscription, who had completed the construction of an 'Idgāh at Miraj as per the orders of Sulān Ibrāhīm II in 1586 A.D. He is also mentioned in an undated inscription, from Kālī Masjid at Miraj, as the *mukabbir* of the mosque.[12] In my view this Sayyid Maḥmūd is identical to Sayyid Maḥmūd of our record who, on the basis of his sound social and economical status, with the capacity of completing of Kalī Masjid, might have given the post of *Nāi'b* of district of Mubārakābād.

The *mu'āmila-i-Mubārakābād* mentioned with the post of Sayyid Maḥmūd is today's Miraj ($16^0 49' N 74^0 41' E$) which was designated as Mubārakābād during the Bahmanī and Adil Shahi periods. We find first mention of this place as Mirinja in a copper plate dated 1058 A.D.

of Mārasimha, the Shilāhāra ruler of Kolhapur.[13] It was further corrupted to Mirch and then to Miraj. Miraj, alongwith Hukkeri, Balgaon, Kunji & Raibāgh, was held in *jāgīr* by Ḥasan Gangū when he was an official under Tughluq Sulṭāns. According to Rafiu'd-Dīn Shīrāzī's Tadhkiratu'l-Mulūk Ḥasan Gangū after raising an army first captured fort of Miraj in 1347 A.D. and, on the suggestion of his previous master and spiritual guide Shaikh Muḥammad Junaidī, designated it as Mubārakābād to mark the beginning of an independant rule and foundation of Bahmani dynasty. Since then Miraj was given the epithet of Mubārakābād suffixing the real name Miraj. In constant use this epithet replaced the very real name Miraj.[14]

Another important official of the inscription is a noble, Malik Raiḥān Sharza Khān, who was according to the text Salaḥdār -i-A'lā (Arm-bearer at the royal court) and *Muqaṣadar* (fief-holder) of the village Arak. The most significant point involved here is the very mention of this noble, because this epigraph is the only source to provide information about the existance of any Malik Raiḥān with the title of Sharza Khān. Though his first name Raiḥān, as per the prevalent rule of christenning the servants, indicates towards his being an Abbysinian slave but the titles of Malik, as prefix, and Sharza Khān, as suffix, and his post of Armbearer at the royal court indicates towards his

being an important official at the Central-government. It was also customary in those days to grant fiefs to the officials on condition of service.[15] In this way Malik Raihān might have been given the *muqāṣa* of Arak for his post of Arm-bearer at the royal court. Here one point should be very clear that Sidī Raiḥān and Sharza Khān, the two high ranked military officers of Sikandar 'Ādil Shāh, are entirely different from this noble as their period lies at least one century after this event.

We also have one Sayyid Nūru'd Dīn mentioned in the inscription as Mahaldār of the royal court. This Nūru'd-Dīn is none other than Mirza Nūru'd-Dīn Muḥammad who was instrumental in assassination of his own benefector Muṣtafā Khān in 1580 A.D. at the instance of Kishwar Khān the aspirant of Regency. Originally a Sayyid from Mashhad (in Iran), Nūru'd-Dīn was captured in a battle and recruited to Adil Shahi-service by MusKhān and had a fief near Bankāpur. He was promised of elevations and *jāgīr* off Bankāpur for this job. After this event historical records are silent about his fate.[16] It is this epigraph which states about his carrier as Mahaldī at the royal court.[17]

The last official mentioned in this epigraph is Manṣūr Khān, the Sarbarātī of the village Arak who was present at the scene, among others, when the boundary of the village was being fixed. Manṣūr Khān is again a new person coming to

light through this record. The important thing associated with Manṣūr *Khān* is the post of *Sarbarātī* which is a new term and happens to be an addition to the glossary of administrative posts which were prevalent during the medieval period of history. The status, responsibilities, jurisdiction and nature of this post is not known from historical chronicles, documents, glossaries and other sources but it is obvious that this post had to be connected with the revenue administration of the village as the entire exercise mentioned in the epigraph involves revenue administration of the village. In my opinion the etymology of this word will help us in deciding the nature of this post. In Arabic there is word *barāt* (with the root barīu) which means : a record, a register, an order or an assignment of revenue.[18] In Marathi and Kannada too it is according to the popular law of adding suffix of 'ī' the word will be an adjective i.e. the person dealing with the assignments of revenue. *Sar* a Persian word which means 'head' if prefixed to a noun indicates the 'chiefship' in that particular context. e.g.

Sar-naubat, Sar-hawāladār, Sar-khawāṣṣ, Sar-Lashkar etc. In this way the post of *Sarbarāti,* on the basis of above synthesis, can be taken as Chief Revenue Officer of the village with the responsibilities of keeping record of land allotment, its measure, its produce, levies imposed on it and its revenues. In other words *Sarbarāti,* might have been entrusted the supervision of *Kulkarnīs,* the primary post in revenue administration.

Now at the end the post of *Diwān-i-Ḥad* too deserves a special mention. The epigraph states about the fixation of the boundary of village Arak in the presence (*ba ḥuḍūr*) of Dīwān-i-Ḥad. This post, again, is the one which has been mentioned for the first time in any record. It seems to be, as its name suggests, a centtral-government's officer, equivalent to surveyor general of modern times, incharge of the survey of the crown-land. The existance of this office also indicates towards the presence of a scientific and well defined department for measurement and survey of land for an effective revenue system.

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9.   G.H. Khare - *op.cit.*, p.136

10.   D.C. Verma - *op.cit.*, p.241; H.H. Wilson- *A Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms*, (Delhi, 1968) p.204 refers Ḥawaladar as a subordinate revenue officer.

11.   *Arak* in Persian means a fort. The name of this village might have christenned because of the existence of a fortress there.

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17.   *Maḥaldār* was an officer incharge of the revenue or superintendent of Police. See H.H. Wilson - *op.cit.*, p.319/

18.   *Ibid.*, p.63

Kalinga under the Eastern Gangas Ca.900-1200 A.D. by **N. Mukunda Rao**, Pub. by B.R. Publishing Corporation, Delhi, 1991; pages: vii + 260; Price: Rs. 225/-

The book which is written by one of the noted epigraphists, Dr. N. Mukunda Rao is a welcome addition to the historical literature on one of the important dynasties of India viz. Eastern Gangas. The volume which consists of 11 chapters, glossary, appendices, bibliography, index and maps, gives a comprehensive account of the rule of this dynasty over Kalinga. The author has made a painstaking study of the administration, military organisation and economic, social, religious and cultural conditions during the period from 900-1200 A.D when the Eastern Gangas ruled this region. As opined by Prof. Hermann Kulke in his valuable foreword to the book, the thorough knowledge of the Ganga inscriptions has enabled the author to make a detailed and comprehensive study of the subject of his research.

The author has, while discussing about the political history of this dynasty, traced in detail the account of the territory of Kalinga known variously as kalinga-mandala, Trikalinga-mandala etc and discussed about its various sub-divisions. He has also dealt at length with the significance of the title Tri-Kalingādhipati. While dealing with the kingship and its salient features (in chap-

ter IV) he has drawn the attention of the scholars to the progressive policies of the Ganga rulers, on account of which the term *'Gannga-vidyā'* gained much significance. In Chapter V, which deals with the military organization, he has highlighted about the existance of the system of plurality of offices and substantiated the same with the examples like an officer holding the offices of *chamūpati* and *amātya*, *sēnāpati* and *mahā-sandhivigrahi* etc. It may be recalled here that a number of inscriptions in other parts of the country also reveals such a set up where one person was incharge of more than one office.

While discussing about the administrative divisions he has touched upon their general set up and the pattern of sub-divisions including those which had a numerical appendage. However, the study could have been more comprehensive if he had taken into account the latest researches in the field and assessed their significance in the light of these researches. We hope this will be made good when he brings out a revised edition. However, it has to be appreciated that he has appended a number of maps showing the administrative divisions, which are of immense help in understanding the administrative set up of the territory. While discussing about the economic conditions (Chapter IX) he has taken care to illucidate various terms connoting measure-

ments like the measuring rods, *vāṭi, puṭṭi, tūmu, jēna, aṅgula* etc.

In the appendix, the author has furnished the texts of some noteworthy inscriptions. This enhances the importance of the book as these inscriptions are of immense value for the study of the subject. A few spelling mistakes have of course crept in here and there by oversight. We are sure proper care would be taken while bringing out a revised edition. On the whole, the volume provides a very thorough and up-to-date account of the history of Kaliṅga which retained its unique identity during the period under reference. The author deserves our hearty congratulations for bringing out such a useful book. The publishers and printers also deserve our appreciation for its nice getup.

Madhav N. Katti.

Social History of Andhra Pradesh by N.K. Reddy, Agam Kala Prakashan, Delhi, 1991, pp. xiv+254, price Rs 330.

The book, which represents the author's Ph.D. winner from the S.V. University, Tirupati, deals with the social history of the areas covered by the present state of Andhra Pradesh from the seventh to the thirteenth century AD. Both the initial and terminating dates mark crucial phases in the history of the Andhra country as the seventh century is notable for the emergence of the Eastern Chālukyas

and earliest known complete Telugu inscription and the thirteenth saw the beginning of Muslim onslaughts and as such the period of study is well chosen.

The work falls into five chapters, the first and last respectively furnishing introductory information and a summary of the conclusions of the three intervening chapters. The second chapter deals at length with the social life in its various aspects, followed by the treatment of education and economic matters including agriculture and industries in the next two chapters.

We find interesting important information in all the three core chapters, it being difficult to single out any particular piece. The period was marked by the Immigration of *brāhmaṇas* from North India including Kashmir and nearby Tamil-nadu, Karnataka and Kerala as well as their migration from Andhra Pradesh to other areas, especially Tamil-nadu and Maharashtra. There were various factors contributing to these migratory activities, but the reference to the *brāhmaṇa* Kumāramūrti immigrating to the Veṅgī-vishaya due to the insolent treatment meted out by the Toṇḍamān king Kāḍuveṭṭi (pp. 35-36) is of great interest as it shows that, even though generally revesed, the brāhmaṇas were occasionally subjected to humiliation also and that there was developing a concealed hatred towards them among the powerful ruling class. The brāhmaṇas did not

restrict themselves to prescribed occupations, and we have an interesting allusion to the sale of the village headship (*raḍḍikamu*) by them for a certain consideration (p.31). A notable feature of the trading and industrial communities (*vaiśyas*) in the Deccan during the period was their corporate activities which made them organise themselves into guilds of local and regional importance, there being several great sailors (*mahānāvikas*) and caravan leaders (*mahā-sārthavāhas*). The *vaiśyas* held several high administrative offices and great influence. In Andhra we have the somewhat unique land-grants made in favour of the trading community (*vaiśyāgrahāras*). A more interesting phenomenon was the rise of the *śūdra* community called *chaturtha-kula* and people taking pride in belonging to it, and a large non-descript class of artisans was included in it. Expert smiths were adorned with the titles like *āchārya* and *oju* (p.56), from *upādhyāya*, which is indicative of great honour. There were cordial relations between the *brāhmaṇas* and *śūdras*, and many of the members of the ruling classes hailed from the *chaturtha-kula*. Polygamy was the prevailing norm among the aristocratic classes which had, in addition, a number of concubines called *bhoga-strī* and *bhoga-mahishī*. The womenfolk attached to temples in various postions were cared for, and musicians and dancers among them were highly respected members of the society. They had organised themselves into guilds and contributed greatly to the progress of arts. *Sānī* 300 (pp. 70-71) denoted, in our opinion, 300 *sānīs* (dancing girls) who might be on the regular staff of the temple and also those that might have been invited on special occasions. Their respected position in the society is apparent from the fact there was a measurement of *ghee* called *sāniya-māna* two of which were needed to maintain a perpetual lamp into a temple (p.73). Hero stones were popularly erected to perpetuate the memory of heroes who had lost their lives in public cause and they received popular worship, and there were self sacrifices in various forms including cutting off limbs, sometimes to indicate love and loyalty to the master. Every village in Andhra, as in other parts of South India, had its own goddess called by various names, and sometimes anonymous as well.

Of the Vedas, the *Yajurvēda* appears to have been most popularly studied and the *Atharvavēda* was the least popular. Vedic schools were commonly called *ghaṭikā-sthāna* which were often attached to temples. The term *ghaṭikā-sāmānya* (pp. 120-21) (30.31) appears to have denoted an inmate of the *ghaṭikā*, and its chief. We feel that the expression *gṛihīta sahasra* as applied to Vedic *brāhmaṇas* (p.120) should be taken to refer to one's proficiency in the thousand *śākhās* of the *Sāmavēda* which is described as *sahasra-vartmā*. The present surname Ghaisās of Brāhmins in Maharashtra is a descen-

dent of this once meaningful title. Another equally interesting piece of information relates to the popularity of the astrological writings of the famous astrologer and astronomer Varāhamihira as apparent from the description of Nallaya bhatlu as a scholar of Varāhamihira jyotishaśāstra in a Drāksharāma inscription dated 1163 AD (p. 122). By this period the technical distinction between the teacher categories *āchārya* and *upādhyāya* was blurred and they were used as synonymous (p.136). In the account of fine arts, beside music, dance and painting which are described (pp.141-47), one expected a reference to dramatic performances. Similar the case with the conspicuous absence of any reference to the Andhras' rich contribution to Sanskrit literature alongside Telugu literature which has been rapidly surveyed (pp.147-55). Various kinds of land-tenures and agricultural operations and industries have received attention in ch. iv.

There is much controversy among the Indologists about the ownership of land in ancient India, and the author seems to be on the side of the upholders of the theory that its basic ownership was vested in the King (pp. 161-68, 227), a view which goes against the extant inscriptional evidence of a second century Nasik inscription of the time of Nahapāna which mentions that his representative (actually son-in-law) Ushavadāna had to purchase a piece of land from a *brāhmaṇa* named

Aśvibhūti at a price of 4000 *kārshāpaṇas* (D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, Vol. I, 2nd ed., Calcutta, 1965, p. 169). Land-grants often contributed to bringing waste land under cultivation. Temples and their various requirements including staff recruited for various functions was often provided from royal and private donations. Epigraphic evidence is clear that a variety of land-measures were in vogue in different regions (pp. 180ff.) especially named after the ruling authorities, temple officials and local bodies, who standardised them. The state paid considerable attention to irrigation by laying tanks and lakes some of which are still extant: it enabled the state not only to have rich crops but also to augment its own resources by leving a higher rate of taxes.

It would be seen from the foregoing account that the work contains a dependable treasury of interesting information culled from inscriptions and Telugu literature, and Dr. Reddy has done justice to his evidence.

However, a few points may be mentioned here for the consideration of the author while revising the work for a second edition if and when such an opportunity arises. The scope of the work should be so adjusted as to deserve a revised title like socio-economic history instead of just social history which leaves the chapter on agriculture and industries unaccounted. Everywhere the name of the region con-

cerned is spelt as Ándhra, while the extent epigraphic evidence up to thhe Kākatīya period leaves absolutely no doubt that the correct spelling of the name was just Andhra beginning with short a The names like Jayamangalā, Utkala, Kalinga, etc. should be spelt with only dental l not ḷ. Names ending in śarman, varman, should be so spelt in English and not like śarmā, varmā, etc. The length of terminal ā and ī should be indicated wherever necessary by a suitable diacritic.

The bibliography also leaves much to be desired Works belonging to one author have been attributed to another author and titles are also incorrect and incomplete at some places.

<div align="right">Ajay Mitra Shastri</div>

Towards a New Formation South Indian Society under Vijayanagar Rule by **Noboru Karashima**, Pub. by Oxford University Press, New Delhi-110 001, 1992: pages: i to xii and 294; Price Rs. 275/-

The book written by the well known historian Prof. Noboru Karashima provides the most needed reference material on the political and economic history of the Vijayanagar period. The author has divided the chapters mainly into three groups and classified them as (1) Emergence of new political structure (2) Socio-economic developments under Vijayanagar Rule and (3) Vijayanagar Revenue Policy and Society. The glossary, appen-

dices containing tables of revenue terms occuring in inscriptions, an exhaustive bibliography, index and maps enhance the value of the book which thus caters to the needs of the students and researchers of Vijayanagar history.

The author has compared the politico-social and economic Conditions of the Vijayanagar period with that of the preceding phase of the close of the Chōḷa period in the Tamil speaking areas and shown, as to how a new order emerged which became almost a trend setter for the events that took place in the post Vijayanagar period viz., the emergence of new non-Brāhmin land holders and the role played by the authorities like the Nāttavars and the Nāyakās who were the important functioneries during this period. The spread of Vijayanagar rule from Karnataka to the adjoining Tamil Nadu no doubt brought a new political impact thereby necessitating a social change and some times a social upsurge. Dr. Karashima known for his original thinking, assesses the views of the other scholars like Burton Stein and discusses about the segmentary patrimonial systems as envisaged by Prof. Stein and after a careful analysis under liness the necessity of a further study and assessment of the administrative set up during the Vijayanagar period. While discussing about the Nāyakas in Chingleput District (Chapter V), the author delineates how gradually they became more and more important

and utlimately gained the status of feudal lords within their own territory. He also compares this system with its counterpart that prevailed in medieval Europe and Japan.

While discussing about the socio-economic developments under the Vijayanagar rule, he draws our attention to the prevailing political conditions where the officers of the King, Pradhānis, Adhikāris etc. conducted a rather tyranical administration, where heavey taxes were levied on the land lords. On account of this, many lands were sold and they were purchased by the new magnates who in many cases happened to be non-Brahmins. This led to a change in the socio-economic system in the region. He has also dealt with various other factors concerning the system of slaves, place of temple in the Society and various other socio-economic factors. The discovery of Chinese Ceramic shreds in different parts of Tamil Nadu and their examination in the light of the ceramic ware discovered earlier in Pakistan and Sri Lanka has enabled the author to highlight about the foreign trade contacts of South India with these countries which add a new dimension to the subject.

His discussion about the revenue terms occuring in the inscriptions and their distribution pattern is exhaustive some of the important socio-economic changes that occured in those days., He has also discussed about the tax levying or remitting authorities on behalf of the king and shown how Pradhanis, Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara, Nattavars and Nāyakas played their distinct role in this respect. He has also given a new interpretation to the term Paṇḍārvaḍai which was simply a taxable land as distinct from the non-taxable land. He has also shown that unlike the Mahamaṇḍaleśvara, the Nāyakās were not allowed to deviate from the prescribed state tariff of revenue collection and the authority of conversion of the Paṇḍāravāḍai land into tax-free temple land was exercised by the King or the Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara and not by the Nāyakās.

On the whole, it can be said that the author in his present study by highlighting the new trends in the socio-economic and political administration of Tamil Nadu during the Vijayanagar period based on his exhaustive study inscriptions for several years has earned the universal appreciation of the students of Vijayanagar history in particular and those of the historians of medieval India in general. For this, he deserves our hearty congratulations. We also appreciate the Publishers and the Printers for placing in the hands of the readers such a valuable book, very neatly printed.

Madhav N. Katti and S.P. Tewari

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